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ANCIENT HISTORY



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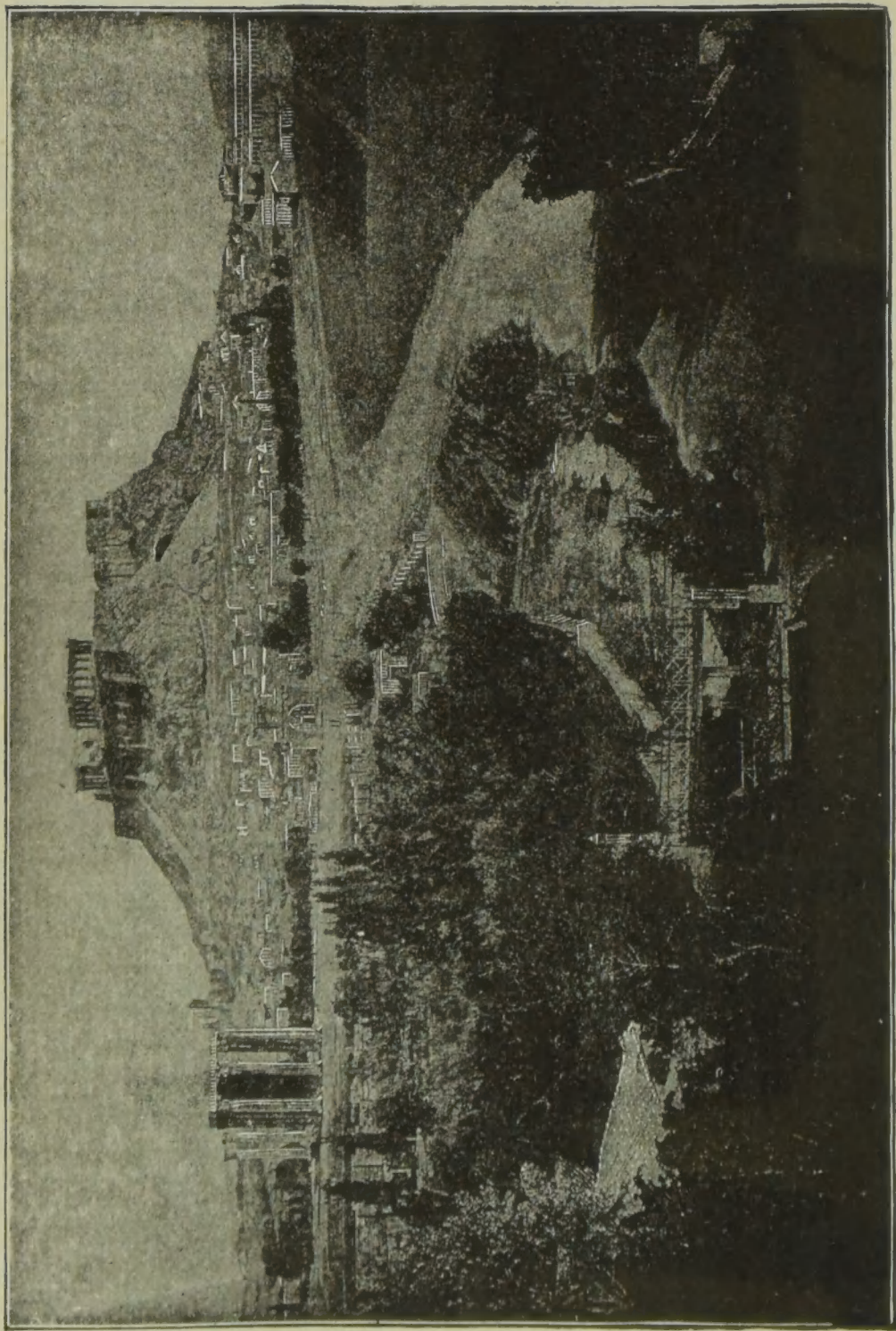
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HIGH SCHOOL ANCIENT HISTORY



THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS
(From a photograph)

HIGH SCHOOL ANCIENT HISTORY

BY

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AUTHORIZED BY THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION
FOR ONTARIO

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PREFACE

This volume is a revised edition of the author's *History of the Ancient World*, specially adapted for use in the Collegiate Institutes and High Schools of Ontario. It is mainly a history of Greece and Rome to the end of the principate of Augustus; but a few pages have been given to the early Orient and to the later Roman empire, to help the pupil to a clear conception of the place of classical civilization in ancient history.

The culture of the ancients, especially of the Greeks, was an integral part of their life, and it is, therefore, presented in close connection with their political history.

Recent discovery and research have received due attention in this volume; particularly in the treatment of the Cretan (or Minoan) and Mycenaean civilizations, of the Etruscans, of the constitutional history of Rome, and of various aspects of the decline of the Roman empire.

Stress has been laid everywhere in this History on the causal relations and the significance of events, and on the social activities of the people.

This text-book, it should be clearly stated, is in no degree a compilation from other Ancient Histories. It is the product of more than thirty years of a life earnestly devoted to the study and interpretation of Greek and Roman historical sources. Indeed, in several instances the author has taken the liberty of departing materially from the current view, as, for example, in the matter of the composition of the Roman assemblies and in regard to the issue between Demosthenes and Philip and the value of Alexander's conquests.

GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD.

MOUNT VERNON, NEW YORK,
July, 1917.

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HIGH SCHOOL ANCIENT HISTORY





ANCIENT HISTORY

PART I

THE ORIENTAL NATIONS

CHAPTER I

THE ORIENTAL NATIONS

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Ancient History explained.—History is chiefly concerned with progress. It has to do, therefore, with those nations only which have outgrown their primitive savagery. For the earlier condition of ancient peoples we study the works of their hands found by excavating their settlements. Such discoveries throw light on their mechanical and artistic skill, their society, religion, and government. Individuals and specific events of the distant past, however, can be known through written records only. In the fourth millennium (4000–3000) B.C. the Egyptians, who most probably were the earliest civilized people, had a well-developed system of writing. From that time, accordingly, history in its fullest sense, as a record both of conditions and of personal achievements, begins.

Ancient history has to do with the countries in or near the Mediterranean basin. Here were the only civilized peoples of the time who have contributed anything to our own life.¹ All parts of this region were closely connected with one another. The chief means of communication was the sea itself, which served as a highway for colonization, trade, and conquest. In a word, it was the Mediterranean which gave unity to the region and to the history of its civilization.

¹ India, China, and Japan were also civilized in ancient times; but in our brief study we do not need to consider them, as till recently they have stood quite apart from the progress of the world to which we belong.

Ancient history consists of two great parts, Oriental and Greco-Roman or Classical. The Orient was made up of Egypt and south-western Asia. Here civilization was born. From this beginning the classical world afterward developed. The latter included the whole Mediterranean basin and some adjacent territory on the east and north. Thus a considerable part of the Orient came within the region here described. The whole classical area came to be united in the Roman empire under one government. When the centre of interest shifts from this area to the countries north and north-west, ancient history closes and mediæval history begins. This volume is essentially a history of the classical period, introduced by a brief study of the Orient.

2. Earliest Stages of History.—Doubtless there was a time when men lived little better than animals. They had no society or government, no homes, clothing, or tools. Not knowing how to make a fire, they lived on wild fruit, nuts, and raw meat. The trees and caves were their only shelter. In the history of the world there has been no greater discovery than how to kindle and to use a fire. In time men learned to make



PRIMITIVE METHOD OF KINDLING FIRE
BY FRICTION

rude stone weapons and tools, to build huts, to raise a few vegetables and a little grain, and to domesticate animals. Gradually, too, they developed the family and home life, and they gathered in villages,

which they surrounded with walls as a protection from wild beasts and human enemies.

From the beginning human beings tended to cling together in groups and to follow that one among them who displayed the qualities of leadership. They made him their chief or king, and in that way government was established. Meantime the relations between one person and another came to be regulated by customs which gradually grew up. Such customs are the habits of a community formed unconsciously like the habits of

a person. The chief or king saw that they were obeyed, and sometimes introduced new rules, which were called laws. Countless centuries must have passed in this development from the creation of man to the village life, whose crude stone tools, hand-made pottery, and rough walls have been unearthed by explorers in various parts of the world. This period before any of the metals had come into use is called the Stone Age.

3. Two Pioneers of Civilization.—Progress is largely due to surroundings. At the dawn of history no part of the world was so well situated in this respect as the valley of the Nile and that of the Tigris and Eu-phra'tes Rivers, in the region which lies about the eastern end of the Mediterranean. These valleys are alike in important respects. The climate is mild. The soil is always well-watered, for every year the rivers overflow the plain on both sides. When the flood returns to its channel, it leaves the land fertilized with a rich coat of fresh, moist earth, so that it is wonderfully productive.

These conditions are favourable to improvement. The people in these countries never had to struggle hard for mere existence, as do those of cold or barren regions. In their warm climate little effort was required to obtain clothing and to build suitable houses. The ease with which they could raise grain and vegetables tempted them to farming. The rivers formed a ready means of trade between one town and another, while in the case of Egypt the surrounding deserts and mountains helped protect the inhabitants from enemies. As the population increased through the natural growth of families and the immigration of strangers, who came from all quarters to enjoy the good country, it became necessary to produce more food and clothing and to build more houses and of larger size. At the same time the people in social intercourse and trade developed a taste for better and more beautiful things—in other words, they continually acquired a higher standard of living. The valley of the Nile is Egypt; that of the lower Euphrates and Tigris is Babylonia.

II. EGYPT

4. Egypt the Earlier Pioneer.—Although scholars still differ as to whether Egypt or Babylonia preceded in civilization, the weight of evidence inclines in favour of the Nile Valley. In the fourth millennium (4000–3000) B.C. the Egyptians had made noteworthy progress in various directions. They now had families, society, government, and a moral religion.¹ They irrigated their fields by means of canals. They built towns and cities. They had invented writing.² From that time written material, containing the names of kings and some knowledge of the people, has come down to us. Their astronomers discovered that the year consists of three hundred and sixty-five days, which they divided into twelve months. As early at least as 3500 they were employing copper in the useful arts. Those who consider Egypt to have been the earlier in the field of civilization place Babylonia a few centuries in the rear. There is no certain evidence of commerce between the two valleys in this early time; hence there was probably no borrowing of ideas and inventions by one from the other.

5. Absolute Monarchy in Egypt.—Before 3000 B.C. the lower Nile Valley, extending through a length of seven hundred miles, came to be united by conquest in one state under a king, whose title was Pha'raoh. As all his subjects had to co-operate in building embankments along the Nile and in digging canals for irrigation, the king needed great authority for compelling every man to do his share of this work. The royal power, therefore, became absolute. As the nobles in the various parts of the country had taken the priesthoods, that they might enjoy the influence and wealth belonging to these offices, Pharaoh became the chief priest of all the nations. In fact he was himself regarded as a god on earth and was worshipped by his subjects with much ceremony and flattery. The highest noble had to prostrate himself on his face in the presence of this awe-inspiring man-god.

Pharaoh surrounded himself with a large number of officials,

¹ § 10

² § 1

some to administer justice, others to supervise the erection and care of the public works, or to make the biennial census and assessment of property throughout the kingdom, or to collect and manage the revenue. Each district had its local government and officials subject to Pharaoh. For thousands of years the Egyptians remained a peace-loving people, content with defending their own country from enemies; but from about 1600 B.C. a line of able, warlike Pharaohs conquered Syria, the country between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates River.¹ The subject country was their empire. Pharaoh appointed a governor over it, placed garrisons in some of the cities, and compelled the native king of each city to pay an annual tribute.

6. Social Classes; the Poor.—From what has been said it is clear that the government of Egypt was conducted chiefly in the interest of the king and his friends, who held all the valuable offices and priesthoods. We can see the daily lives not only of these great people, but of all classes, pictured on their monuments. Most of them were poor. A family of the lowest class of freemen lived in a mud house thinly roofed with palm leaves. As the climate was mild and as a generation often passed without rain, such a building lasted long and afforded sufficient shelter for the inhabitants. It contained no more than one or two rooms. Its furniture was a few stools, mats to sleep on, two flat stones for grinding grain, a chest for clothing, a bin of hard clay for the provisions, and a few pots and pans. An opening in the roof above the hearth let out the smoke. A small, cheap image stood against the wall, ready to receive the family worship.

7. A Life of Toil.—The family arose at daybreak that the father might be at his work at sunrise. All day long till sunset he toiled, excepting an hour at noon, when he ate the bread and onions he had brought with him for luncheon, and took a short nap in the shade. In case he was working for the government and lagged through weariness or illness, the overseer drove him to his task with a stick. All below Pharaoh, however great their rank and wealth, were liable to be beaten by

their superiors, and few magistrates even could boast of having escaped corporal punishment.

If a man was a farmer, he rented a piece of ground from Pharaoh, who owned all the land in Egypt. From the produce he had to pay the king a fixed number of measures for every acre. The gods, too, required their share. The officers of the king watched over him closely to see that he worked faithfully and concealed nothing that should go to the government or to religion.

Meanwhile the labourer's wife busied herself with her household duties. She carried water, spun, wove, made the family clothing, went to market to sell her eggs, butter, and the linen she had woven. She had many children, some of whom were sure to die young through lack of medicine and care. Those who grew to manhood and womanhood were usually well and strong. Poor people had little clothing. A man wore a short pair of cotton trousers; his wife a simple, low-necked frock which reached the ankles. As the food, too, was simple, it cost little to bring up a large family; and children were actually profitable, as they began work at an early age. The wife managed the household, controlled the children, and was the equal of her husband. She went freely about the town and talked with whomsoever she pleased.

8. Tradesmen.—The huts of the poor were crowded closely together along narrow, crooked lanes. The houses of the tradesmen were in another quarter. They were larger and better made and furnished. There were many trades. Carpenters lived near carpenters, and coppersmiths near coppersmiths, and so of the goldsmiths, shoemakers, weavers, bakers, confectioners, and all the others. These workmen generally retailed their own produce.

In the market-place provisions were kept for sale in large baskets resting on the ground, and people brought various articles, usually of their own make, to barter for grain, vegetables, fish, and meat. Some brought rings of copper, silver, or gold. These metal pieces served poorly as money, for they varied in weight and purity. Near the provision market was

the bazaar, in which were displayed for sale all kinds of manufactured wares, both native and imported from Nubia, Arabia, Babylon, Syria, and the islands of the Ae-ge'an Sea. There were embroideries, fine linens, jewellery, scented woods and gums, coral and amber, glass-ware and beautiful pottery. Though no law compelled it, the son usually learned the trade of the father.

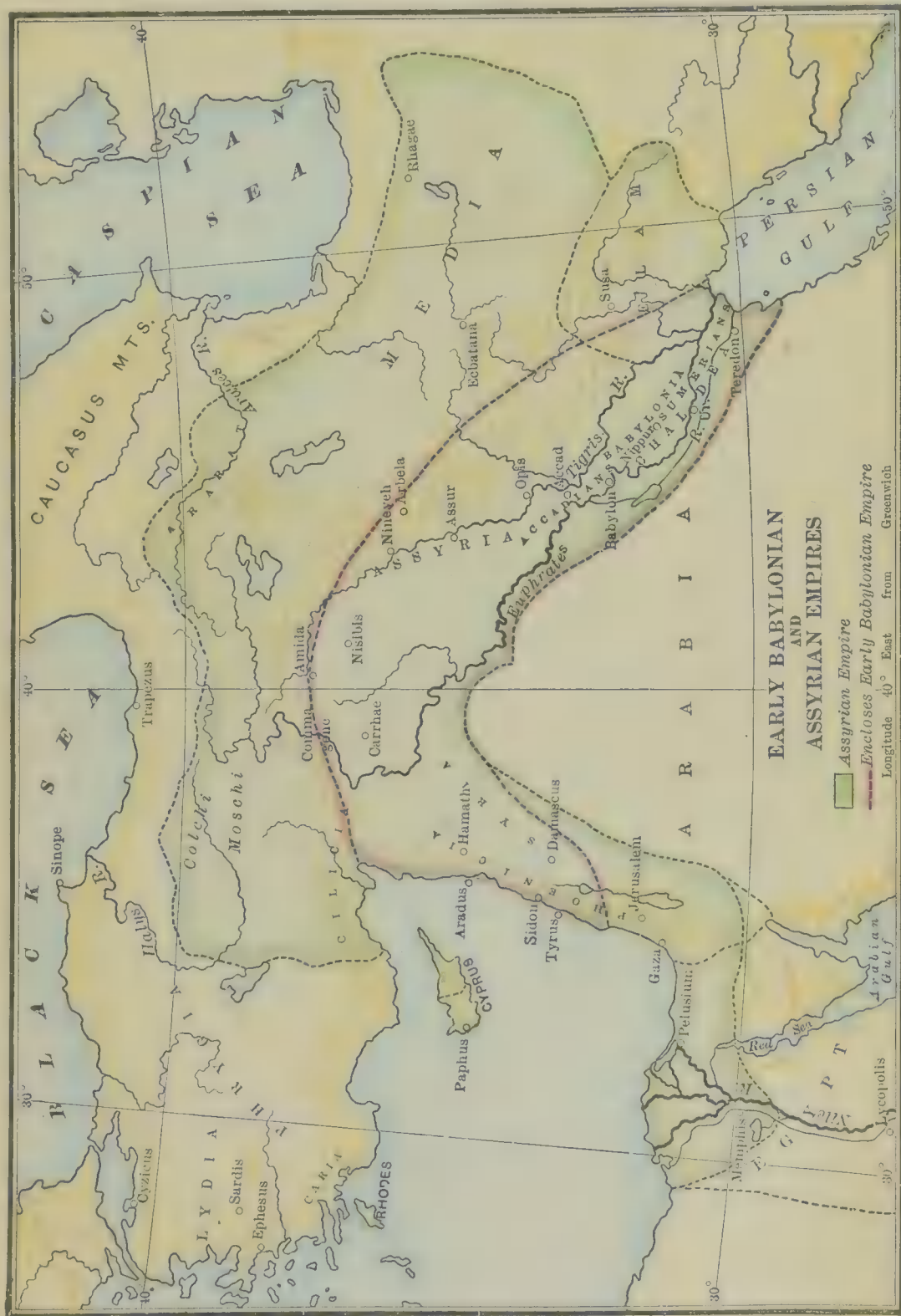
9. Task Work and Military Service.—When left to themselves, the people were moderately happy; but when Pharaoh chose the strongest and best men to toil for him without pay in building a pyramid or a temple, they felt it a grievous affliction. These extraordinary tasks alone would not have been unendurable, but they came as additions to lesser labours which the government required every year of all workmen. These periodical tasks included the digging of canals for irrigation, the building of embankments along the Nile, the repair of roads, the transportation of Pharaoh's share of the crops from the farms to the Nile and thence down the river to his capital. These labours exhausted the strength of the population and left little energy either for recreation or for thought.

Still harder was military service. Probably no other nation in history has been more unwarlike. A native writer compares the typical soldier to a trembling bird. The people shrank from the vast loss of life attending invasions of Nubia or Syria. When preparations were made for such an expedition, the peasants were forced into the army by flogging, amid the tears and wailing of their kinsfolk. As the natives were so poor material for the army, the king hired many soldiers from Libya, Greece, and other foreign lands. Such troops were mercenaries. Usually they brought their armour and weapons with them. To keep them in the country Pharaoh rented out to them farms on reasonable terms. His native troops he had to equip with bows and arrows, spears, shields, and other weapons and armour from his own arsenals. For hundreds of years there were no horses in Egypt, but early in the second millennium (2000–1000) B.C. they were brought in from Syria. Thereafter a part of Pharaoh's military force consisted of



EGYPTIAN MARKET SCENES

I. A woman bringing two jars of perfumes to barter for wares. A woman with something in a box to trade for fish. II. A man bartering the contents of a jar for a necklace. III. The man on his knees seems to be selling bracelets and necklaces; a woman, box in hand, has come to purchase. A man selling fish-hooks. IV. A man with wheat and onions in a basket; two purchasers — one with necklaces in hand, the other with a fan and a fire ventilator.



horses and chariots. From the Orient the use of the war chariot extended westward to Greece, Italy, and even to Britain.

10. Religion.—We cannot understand the Egyptian without making ourselves acquainted with his religion, which controlled his thoughts and actions. He believed in a countless number of good and evil spirits, each one of which lived in a mountain or rock, a tree, spring, or river, a star, the moon, the sun, or some other object, as the soul lives in the body. Only the greater and more powerful of these spirits he looked upon as gods. His deities had the forms not only of men and women, but also of birds, fishes, crocodiles, cats, dogs, and cattle. Although this worship seems to us repulsive and degrading, other features of their religion excite our admiration. It encouraged justice, honesty, purity, and other virtues. At the judgment seat of the god O-si'ris each soul before admission to eternal happiness was required to declare that he had not murdered, stolen, coveted the property of others, blasphemed the gods, given false testimony, or ill-treated his parents. Here are six great commandments as valid to-day as they were in Egypt five thousand years ago.

The favour of the gods was expensive. Each deity lived in his temple even more sumptuously than the ruler in his palace. As the wealth of the king and the influence of the priests grew, the temples were built larger and larger, till in the second millennium (2000–1000) B.C. they attained the maximum of size and splendour. The chapel for the image of the god was flanked by smaller chambers for his wife and son, both of them deities. The building contained rooms, too, for the storage of furniture, treasures, and sacred tools and vessels. In front of these apartments was an immense hall for public worship, and in front of that a great court partly open to the sky. Within both hall and court were gigantic colonnades. The temple of Am'mon at Thebes, in that period the capital of Egypt, was the work of a succession of kings. When finished, it was the most stupendous temple the world has known. Travellers still wonder at the grand ruins.

11. Treatment of the Dead.—The Egyptians took great care to preserve the dead body. They embalmed it that it might never decay; for its preservation was necessary to the life of the soul. The embalmed body is called a mummy. The poor had to satisfy themselves with simple graves; but every noble and every king built as strong and great a tomb as he could afford and set aside a considerable part of his wealth to maintain there the worship of his soul. The ruling class were content to live in relatively modest dwellings in order that the immortal gods and also their own everlasting mummies, each



SECOND AND THIRD PYRAMIDS OF GIZEH

(View from the east. From a photograph)

with its spirit, might dwell in grand, indestructible homes. Tombs and temples were therefore their greatest buildings.

Of the many kinds of tombs the largest and most enduring are the pyramids, erected by certain early kings to receive their own bodies. The greatest covers thirteen acres and was originally about four hundred and eighty feet high. Hidden far within and difficult of access is the chamber in which was placed the mummy of the builder. We are astonished, not only at the immensity of the work as a whole and at the size and weight of the limestone blocks which compose it, but also

at the delicate accuracy of its construction. Religion was the motive which led to the work. Religion encouraged, too, the growth of the astronomical and the mathematical knowledge needed in planning it. The same influence helped create the skill in organizing labour, in cutting, polishing, and conveying the stones, and in all the practical engineering used in the building.

12. Writing; Literature.—In the oldest system of writing each object was represented by a picture. Not content with this rude beginning, however, the Egyptians also adopted signs for single sounds; but as they continued to mix their old picture signs with their new characters for sounds, they fell far short of creating a phonetic alphabet. Gradually they simplified the old system in such a way as to form a “running hand” for business and everyday affairs. As the earlier characters continued to be used by priests for religious purposes, they were called hieroglyphs—sacred inscriptions—especially appropriate for carving on walls, columns, and obelisks. Their paper they made of pa-py’rus, a reed which grew abundantly along the Nile. Though we use a different material, we have kept the name papyrus, merely giving it an English form—paper.



EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING

The Egyptians inscribed on monuments and wrote on papyrus the chief events of each year, works on medicine, religious texts, and moral proverbs and precepts. Kings, nobles, and wealthy commoners, according to their means, took pleasure in having their achievements and virtues recorded on temple columns, or on the walls of tombs. There were also simple songs of the shepherds, the threshers, and other classes of labourers, and religious poems and hymns. In time they began to write stories for teaching some useful or moral

lesson, tales of adventure for entertainment, and songs and stories of love. There were great numbers of business letters and documents. Most of this written material has perished; but enough has been found to give us a clear knowledge of the life and achievements of these people through a period of more than four thousand years.

13. Decline.—The Egyptians, who were so inventive, skilful, and intelligent and who were once able to conquer foreign peoples, were at last conquered and ruled by foreigners.¹ The chief cause of this was internal decay. From the beginning they were a conservative people, who insisted on preserving the customs of their ancestors. Gradually, this respect for the wisdom of past generations grew on them till they absolutely refused to learn anything new. Before 1500 B.C. all progress had ceased. The priests had reduced the minutest details of worship to fixed forms, from which no one dared depart. These regulations made the king and the high magistrates the slaves of ceremony. In the same way they regulated the arts and sciences, so that future artists merely imitated existing models, and the prescriptions of physicians strictly conformed to the written word. This slavery, imposed on the intellect, weakened both mind and body. Meantime the wealth of the people had gone to the gods—to be enjoyed by the god-king and the priests; no land or other property was left to the common people, who were now virtually serfs. There were too many priests and officials; excessive government overburdened and crushed the lives of all but the rulers themselves. National decay and death resulted—Egypt became a mummy.

III. BABYLONIANS, ASSYRIANS, AND PERSIANS

14. The Babylonians compared with the Egyptians.—In the brief sketch of Oriental civilization offered by this volume the aim is, not to treat all ages and all countries with equal fulness, but to present a single picture of Eastern life. Thus the Egyptian manners, customs, and ideas described in the fore-

¹ First by Assyria (670 B.C.), then by Persia (552), then by the Macedonians under Alexander the Great (332). About two centuries after Alexander their kings became subjects of Rome.

going section may be taken as typical of Oriental civilization. To complete the picture, those features only of other Eastern peoples will be noticed which are distinct from the Egyptian and which at the same time are important in the history of mankind.

In most ways the Babylonians, for example, were so like the Egyptians as not to require separate treatment within the limits of this volume. They had about the same classes of society and they lived under an absolute king. They believed in many gods, as did the Egyptians. In some respects, however, their life was very different from that of the Nile Valley. Having plenty of clay but almost no stone in their country, they built their walls, palaces, and temples of brick. These works, once grand, crumbled after a generation or two and are now heaps of ruins. To the world they were useful, if only in illustrating how extensively brick could be employed for building. The people used brick, too, instead of paper for writing, inscribing their

characters with a triangular instrument. The kind of writing material explains why their letters are all wedge-shaped—hence called *cu'ne-i-form* (from Latin *cuneus* a wedge).

But as bricks are far more durable than papyrus, much more of the Babylonian writings—in fact many a library—has been preserved, with the result that we are better acquainted with Babylonian life and literature than with the Egyptian.

15. Literature and Law.—In literature they created the epic—a stately poem of considerable length, which celebrates in narrative form the deeds of real or mythical heroes. One of these poems includes an account of the great flood and the building of the ship in which one human family alone was saved. Another long religious epic gives an account of the



CUNEIFORM WRITING
(From a photograph)

creation of the world by one of their gods. These tales are somewhat like the Biblical stories of the same events.

One of the greatest contributions of Babylonia to the world's progress was a code of laws. This was the work of Ham-mu-ra'bi, king of the country, who ruled about 2000 B.C. The stone on which his laws are engraved has been found by explorers. For many centuries this code continued in force in Babylonia and As-syr'i-a. All who wish to make themselves acquainted with the history of legislation should study these laws.

16. Science and the Useful Arts.—The Babylonians advanced beyond the Egyptians in science. They divided the day into



A TEMPLE AT THEBES
(Restored)

hours and the hour into sixty minutes. The lunar month they divided into four weeks of seven days each. This system of reckoning time the Hebrews borrowed from them and bequeathed to us. For measuring time the Babylonians invented the sun-dial and the water-clock. They contrived a system of weights and measures which the Greeks and Romans adopted and handed down in a modified form to us. The decimal and sexagesimal (10×6) systems of numbers are also their invention. We use the decimal for most purposes, but keep the other wherever it has come down to us in connection with weights and measures. In some of the skilled industries they excelled the Egyptians. They were expert workers in clay, glass, and the metals; but their most famous wares were tapestries, muslin, and linen. Their merchandise they sent

abroad over the whole civilized world, till many nations learned their ideas, their science, and their useful arts. The civilization of Babylon prevailed throughout western Asia; it deeply influenced Asia Minor, and it reached even to Europe.

17. Empires.—By conquering some of the small neighbouring states, Babylonia created an empire earlier than that of Egypt.¹ From time to time various other small empires in south-western Asia rose and fell. All of them were formed of tribute-paying states under native kings. These rulers were ready to revolt at every opportunity. So loose a system was no advantage to the governed and gave no promise of lasting long.

The first great state to devote itself to war, conquest, and government on a large scale was Assyria, north of Babylonia. The Assyrians built up an empire which extended nearly to the Caspian Sea on the north-east and included part of Egypt in the opposite direction. Their great improvement was the division of the subject country into districts, which we may call provinces, each ruled by a governor appointed by the Assyrian king. The governor's duty was to command the army of his district, administer justice, and oversee the collection of the annual tribute. Under him were the native kings, who enjoyed far less power and independence than had those of earlier empires. The Assyrian king failed to protect these subject countries from foreign invasion and to give them the advantages of justice and of peaceful commerce with one another. His rule was wholly selfish and oppressive. This empire was at its height from about 900 to 600 B.C.

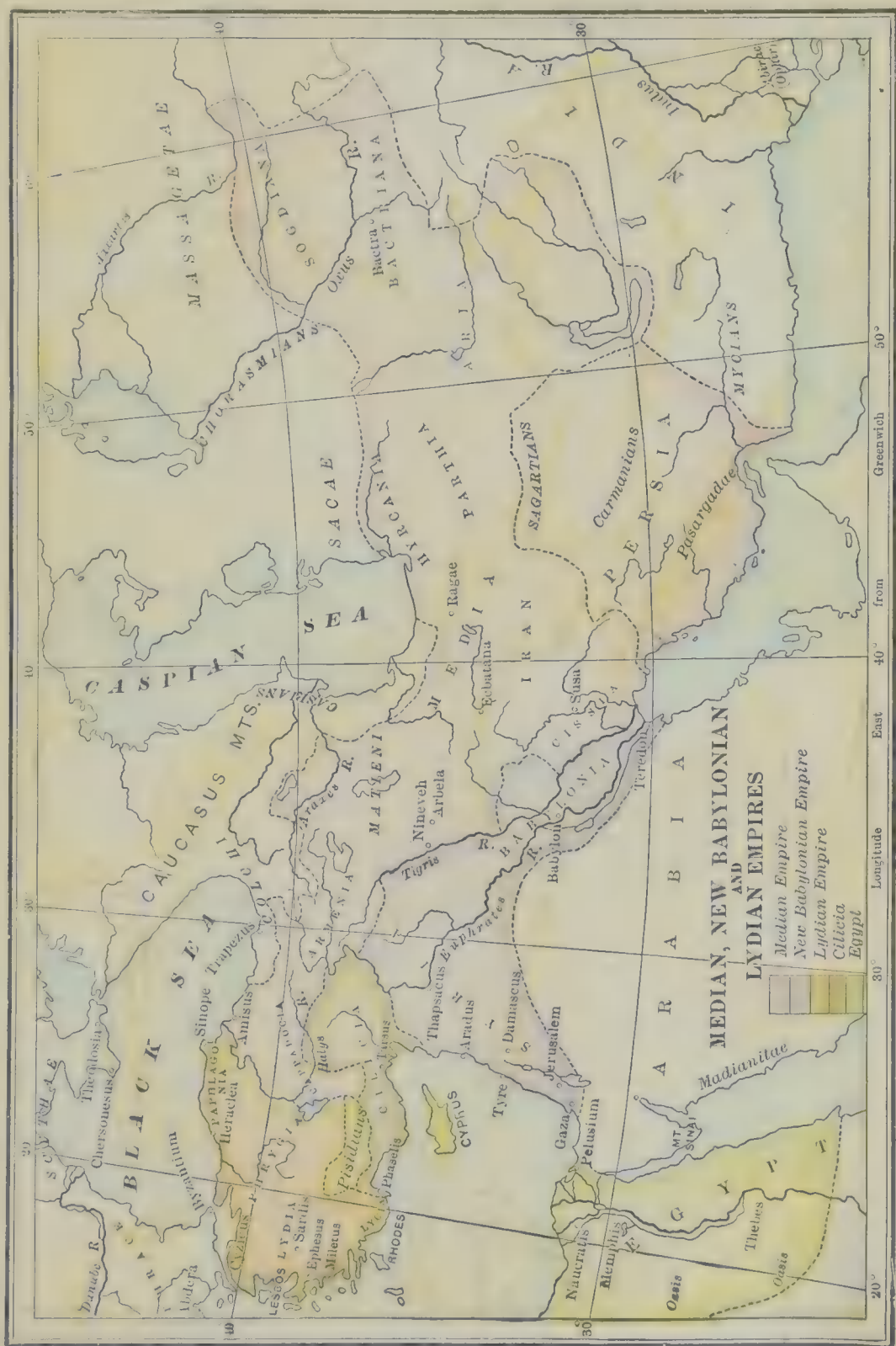
18. The Persian Empire.—Shortly after the fall of Assyria, Persia created through conquest a far greater empire. It extended from the Indus River in India westward to the borders of Greece in Europe and included all Egypt. The organization into provinces was borrowed from Assyria and improved. The Persian king built broad, solid roads for the use of his armies and his messengers and for inland trade. The Greeks who lived in western Asia Minor and who were now his sub-

jects, had begun to use coins. Darius, king of the Persians (522-485 B.C.), established a system of gold and silver coins for his empire. It was a great advantage to trade, as the purchaser no longer needed to weigh the precious metal which he gave in exchange for merchandise or other property. Although people bought and sold for thousands of years before they had coined money, it has proved so useful that we can hardly imagine how we could do without it. Our knowledge of money, however, does not come from Persia, but from the Romans, who learned the art of coining money from the Greeks.

IV. SYRIA

19. The Country; the Hebrews.—There were still other Oriental peoples who aided the advancement of civilization. Further improvements were made by two little nations of Syria. This country, which lies along the east coast of the Mediterranean between Egypt and Babylonia, is a land of hills, mountains, and narrow valleys. As life is more difficult there, the inhabitants at first made slower progress in useful knowledge and in the arts. Some of this knowledge came from Egypt but the greater part from Babylonia.

The country was divided into several small kingdoms. One of them in the south was that of the Hebrews, or Israelites. Their writers tell us that the children of Israel in their earlier wanderings had visited Egypt, where they were held in slavery by the Pharaohs four hundred years. To free them from bondage, Moses, a great religious teacher, led them forth from Egypt against the will of Pharaoh. After many years of wandering in the desert, they emerged into Syria about 1400 B.C. They conquered and settled the southern part, which is now known as Palestine. Their suffering in Egypt and their wanderings in the wilderness made them an exceedingly hardy, virile people. Their greatest achievement was the development of a religion of one all-powerful and all-wise God—Jehovah, who loves goodness and punishes the wicked. More than a thousand years afterward, Christianity, a new form of



the same faith, grew out of the old. The old religion commanded strict observance of ceremony; the new lays greater emphasis on forgiveness and love. Christianity has become the religion of the Europeans and of their colonies throughout the world, and missionaries are carrying it to all other peoples. The *Bible* is the national literature of the Hebrews. It contains legends, hymns, proverbs, exhortations, history, and prophecy. The books of the *Old Testament*, composed before the birth of Christ, are in the national language. Those of the *New Testament* were written afterward in Greek—then the literary language of the Orient. The *Bible* has been read by more persons than any other book. Though its aim is religious and moral instruction, it is a valuable source for the study of ancient life.

20. The Phoeni-

cians. — Phoe-ni'-ci-ans, neighbours and kinsmen of the Hebrews, lived north of them along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean. The greatest of their cities was Tyre. They were manufacturers and merchants. Some of their cities are

PHOENICIAN	ARCHAIC GREEK	LATER GREEK	ENGLISH
𐤀 𐤁	Α ΔΑΔ	Α Α	A
𐤂	Β Γ	Β	B
𐤃 𐤄	Γ Δ Ε Ζ	Γ	G
𐤅 𐤆	Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ	Δ	D
𐤇	Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ	Ε Ε	E
𐤈	Η Θ Ι		F
𐤉	Σ Ζ Ι	Ζ	Z

THE ANCESTORS OF SOME OF THE LETTERS OF OUR ALPHABET

mentioned as early as 1500 B.C., and we are sure that soon afterward they were the great traders of the Mediterranean. They carried their own wares and those of Egypt and Babylon to all the shores of that sea. As commercial stations they planted many colonies, among which were Carthage in Africa and Cadiz (Ga'des) in Spain. From them the natives learned much that was useful in navigation, business, and manufacturing. Their most valuable gift to the Greeks was

the alphabet. As to its origin little is known, but scholars are now inclined to believe that it was derived from the Minoan script by a process of selection. In the Phoenician alphabet the characters represent sounds; it was in fact the first phonetic system devised by man. The Greeks modified it to serve their own purposes; and the Romans, adopting it from the Greeks with further changes, have handed it down to us.

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PART II

HELLAS

CHAPTER II

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

21. Hellas and the Hellenes.—In passing from the Orient to Greece we come to a people much nearer to ourselves in manner of life and of thought. The reason is that they were the founders of European civilization, which we have inherited. The Romans called them Greeks, and it is the name by which they are commonly known to us. They, however, called themselves *Hel-le'nes*. We do not know what the word means, but they tried to explain it by inventing the myth of their descent from *Hel'len* as a common ancestor. To them *Hel'las* was the country possessed by themselves wherever it might be—including not only the old homeland, but also the numerous colonies. There is no difficulty about using "Hellenes" and "Greeks", "Hellenic" and "Greek" as equivalent terms. "Greece", on the other hand, now generally refers to the peninsula occupied by the modern state of Greece. To avoid confusion it will retain this meaning in the present volume, and will thus be distinguished from the broader term "Hellas".¹

22. Mountains.—Greece, the oldest home of the Hellenes, is the small peninsula which extends from south-eastern Europe into the Mediterranean Sea. In travelling through Greece, or in looking at a map of it, we notice that the country is mountainous. The *Cam-bu'ni-an* chain stretches along the northern border. Its highest point is Mount *O-lym'pus*, near the sea, the loftiest peak on the peninsula. The Greeks imagined it the abode of Zeus and of the other great gods. Near Olympus, in

¹ Should we use "Greece" synonymously with "Hellas", as is often done by historians, it would be necessary constantly to distinguish between "Greece proper" and "Greece in the larger sense".

the range which extends along the east coast of Thessaly, is Mount Os'sa. Far to the west of this coast chain is the range of Mount Pin'dus. It extends south from the Cambunian mountains and divides the northern part of Greece into two nearly equal districts. As we proceed southward the country grows more rugged. The central section is a mass of mountain ranges separated by narrow valleys and little plains. The loftiest peak of this region is Mount Par-na'sus, near the centre of the peninsula.

Pel-o-pon-nese' (or Pel-o-pon-ne'sus), the most southerly section of Greece, is only a little less rugged. In the northern central part is the highland of Arcadia. From this highland, mountain chains radiate in all directions. To the south runs the Ta-yg'e-tus range, dividing southern Peloponnese into two districts. This range is celebrated for its iron mines.

23. Rivers and Lakes.—In so small a country as Greece the streams are necessarily small and short. The volume of water is still further diminished by the dryness of the climate. The so-called rivers of Greece are therefore little more than brooks. Some are torrents in the rainy season of winter, but entirely dry in summer. All the streams carry down a great quantity of soil, which they deposit in their lower course. The little plains at their mouths are alluvial—composed of soil thus deposited. In this respect they resemble the valleys of the Nile and Euphrates. The greatest plain of the kind is in Thessaly, northern Greece. The river which has formed it is the Pe-ne'us, the largest stream in Greece. Sometimes the brooks of a region, instead of uniting in a river, flow into a land-locked basin. In this way a lake is formed, generally with an underground outlet.

Another feature of Greece is the great number of gulfs and bays which indent the coasts. No other country has so great a coast-line in proportion to its area.

24. Climate and Products.—The greatest length of the Greek peninsula is about two hundred and fifty miles, and its greatest breadth is a hundred and eighty. And yet within these narrow limits the climate, ranging from temperate to semi-tropical,

fosters a great variety of products. The whole country was once well wooded, though most of it now is nearly treeless. Hence in ancient times the soil was moister and more productive. In the forests of the north are nearly all kinds of European trees, including the beech, oak, plane, and chestnut. Southern Thessaly produces rice and cotton; olives and figs flourish in Attica; and in Peloponnese lemons, oranges, and date-palms thrive. Grape-vines grow everywhere. Though wheat can be grown in the few fertile lowlands, most of the ground is too stony and sterile for anything but pasturage, or at best for barley. Among the domestic animals were hogs, sheep, and goats. Oxen and donkeys were the work animals. Horses were used by the cavalry, and in peace were the luxury of the rich.

The most common metal products were iron, silver, and copper. The best iron mines were in the Taygetus Mountains. Silver was mined in Attica and copper in the neighbouring island of Euboea. There were gold mines in Thrace near the Greek border and in the adjacent island of Tha'sos. Though the supply of metals was small, the Hellenes had exhaustless quarries of limestone and marble. The best white marble came from Mount Pen-tel'i-cus in Attica and from the island of Pa'ros in the Aegean Sea. There were also blue, black, and red marbles. In brief, no country in the world was, or is now, so abundantly supplied with building stone as Greece.

25. Northern Greece.—Looking more carefully at the map, we find the peninsula divided by arms of the sea into three regions, northern Greece, central Greece, and Peloponnese. Northern Greece comprises two countries—E-pi'rus and Thes'sa-ly—separated by the high Pindus range. Epirus is largely a highland crossed from north to south by mountain chains.

Unlike Epirus, Thessaly is a plain, the largest in Greece. It is surrounded by mountains. On the north the Cambunian range rises like a huge wall to defend Greece against the attack of foreigners. Between Olympus and Ossa is the beautiful

Vale of Tem'pe, rich in foliage, the main pass into Greece from the country on the north.

In ancient times Thessaly furnished excellent pasturage. The great lords of the country accordingly reared herds of horses, that they might be able in war to lead hundreds of mounted servants to battle. In time cities grew up in the plain; but both E-pi'rots and Thessalians preferred country life; they had little trade or skilled industry; in education and in the refinements of life they lagged behind the commercial states of Greece.

26. Central Greece: (1) the Less Civilized Countries.—South of Thessaly and Epirus is central Greece, a long, narrow region extending east and west. It is more mountainous than northern Greece and is well supplied with harbours along the immense stretch of coast. Ae-to'li-a and Lo'cris are especially rugged lands, whose inhabitants long remained barbarous. After the commercial cities of eastern and southern Greece had reached the height of their civilization, the Aetolians and Locrians still carried weapons in their daily life; they robbed or murdered all whom they found weak or defenceless. Some of them spoke a language strange to the other Greeks, and ate raw meat. West of Aetolia is A-car-na'ni-a, a land of lakes and harbours, but with high, steep shores. The colonists who came hither in early times from the eastern coast taught the natives useful arts. Hence this country made greater progress in civilization than did Aetolia or Locris. Pho'cis, which divides Locris into two sections, lies partly in the rugged district about Mount Parnassus. Below the mountain on the south, in the city of Del'phi, was the celebrated oracle of Apollo.

The Phocians, too, were more civilized than the Aetolians or the Locrians. In the valleys and plains were thrifty lords and busy peasants; on the mountain sides the shepherd pastured his flocks.

27. Central Greece: (2) the More Civilized Countries.—East of Phocis is Boe-o'ti-a. A great part of this country is a basin, whose waters collect into Lake Co-pa'is. The land about the lake is flat and very productive; its moisture fills the air with

fog. Some witty neighbours of the Boeotians remarked that the dull sky and excessive beef-eating made these people stupid; but in fact they were second in intelligence and in enterprise among the states of central Greece.

Mount Ci-thae'ron separates Boeotia from At'ti-ca, a peninsula which forms the eastern end of central Greece. In the north-east of Attica, overlooking the plain of Ma'ra-thon, is Mount Pentelicus, full of brilliant white marble; and south of Pentelicus is the range of Hy-met'tus, still renowned for its honey-bees. The central region is a plain about two small streams—the Cephissus and the Ilissus, which unite before reaching the sea. A third plain lies round the city of E-leu'sis on the north-west coast. Attica is for the most part a rugged country with a thin, stony soil. It is favoured, however, with a long coast-line, which invites to commerce. In intelligence and in artistic taste the inhabitants excelled all other Greeks. Athens, the capital, became in time the foremost city of the world in civilization.

The traveller who journeys by land from Athens to Peloponnese passes through Meg'a-ris, a little country which lies in the broader part of the Isthmus of Corinth. As the soil is even more barren than that of Attica, the people supported themselves by rearing sheep and by making coarse woollens and heavy pottery for exportation. With a harbour on each side of the Isthmus they were well equipped for commerce; and their leading city, Megara, became for a time a great centre of trade.

28. Peloponnese: (1) the Less Civilized Countries.—Peloponnese—"Isle of Pe'lops", a mythical hero—is a massive peninsula with a great gulf on the east coast and two on the south. The central region is Ar-ca'di-a, "the Switzerland of Greece", a plateau above which tower lofty mountain ranges. Among the mountains are fruitful plains and valleys, each of which was the domain of a tribe or a city. The Arcadians lived in the simple, homely style of mountaineers. Master and slaves ate their pork and barley cake together and mixed their wine in a common bowl. Hardy and warlike, the Arcadian freemen

were equally ready to fight for their homes and to serve foreign states for pay.

The northern slope of the plateau, with a narrow border of coast plain, is A-chae'a. Divided among twelve independent cities, this country remained unimportant till late in history. E'lis comprised the western slope and the broad, rich plain along the coast. Its most notable city was O-lym'pi-a, where the Greeks celebrated the greatest of their national festivals, and athletes from all Hellas contended in the games. The site is now strewn with the ruins of temples.

29. Peloponnese: (2) the More Civilized Countries.—Corinth, near the Isthmus, was one of the greatest commercial cities of Hellas. Her lofty citadel commanded the Isthmus, and by means of her three harbours, two on the Sa-ron'ic Gulf and one on the Corinthian, she could trade equally well with the East and with the West. Though she had a large navy, her narrow territory prevented her from becoming a great power. Ar'go-lis was chiefly the mountainous peninsula on the east of Peloponnese. The principal cities were along the valley which reaches northward from the head of the Ar-gol'ic Gulf. One was My-ce'nae, in early times the seat of a powerful kingdom. It declined, however, and Argos took its place as the head of Argolis. For ages it has been in ruins.

The great rival of Argos was Sparta, chief city of La-co'ni-a. In the beginning this country occupied the fertile basin of the Eu-ro'tas River. The people of the country had for centuries the best equipped and best disciplined army in the world. In time of danger, therefore, all the Hellenes looked to them for protection. Sparta, "low-lying among the caverned hills", was but a group of villages. Unlike most Greek cities it was wholly without fortifications; the ranks of brave warriors were its walls.

West of Laconia is the hilly but fruitful country of Mes-se'ni-a. Near its centre is Mount I-tho'me, whose summit furnished an excellent site for a fortress.

30. The Islands; the Aegean Region. East of the peninsula is the Ae-ge'an Sea. It lies between Greece and Asia Minor

and is dotted over with islands, standing singly or in groups. Thasos has been mentioned for its gold and Euboea for its copper. The latter is a long island nearly parallel to the coast of central Greece. The group of the Cyc'la-des is but a continuation of Euboea and Attica. The most celebrated among them are De'los, the mythical birthplace of Apollo, and Pa'ros, already mentioned for its beautiful marbles. Near the coast of Asia Minor are Les'bos, famed for lyric poetry, Chi'os and Sa'mos, seats of early industry, and Rhodes, which the Phoenicians had colonized. Greatest and most important of all the islands is Crete, south of the Cyclades and on the sea route between Greece and Egypt. Other islands will be mentioned in our further study of Greek history. It is important for our purpose to glance at the coast of Asia Minor which borders the Aegean. It abounds in small but fertile plains and is as well supplied with harbours as the opposite shore of Greece.

The Aegean Sea does not separate, it unites the two coasts; and the islands are stepping-stones, so to speak, from one to the other. Mariners in the smallest barks could pass without danger, without losing sight of land, across the entire breadth of the sea. Indeed, from the mountains of southern Euboea the Greeks could look quite across to the hills of Chios. With the gentle winds that blew steadily in the summer season, it was easier to travel by sea than by land. Naturally, then, the people of the Aegean region—the islands and the two coasts—interchanged products and ideas, and thus advanced equally in culture. The great fact in our study of this region is that it was the earliest home of European civilization, and that it, rather than the peninsula, was the very heart of Hellas.

31. The Effect of the Country upon the People.—In its mountainous character Greece contrasts with the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates. It is somewhat like Syria, but more split up by ranges. A majority of the Greeks were mountaineers. In the mountains a man can make a living for himself and his family by hunting, keeping stock, and tilling a small patch of soil, without the aid or co-operation of neighbours or with

little need of government. He is therefore free; and the kind of life he lives makes him strong and brave. Such men, when fighting for their freedom, are almost unconquerable. This was the character which the Greeks developed in their mountains.

The nature of the country, too, had a political effect. The people of each valley or narrow plain, surrounded by high ranges and seeing little of their neighbours, were content to live alone in the enjoyment of complete independence. In other words, the mountains prevented the growth of large states.

Another controlling feature of the country was its openness to the sea through the excellent gulfs and harbours. From almost any point in the peninsula, the Greek, even with his slow way of travelling, could reach an arm of the sea in a single day. This circumstance naturally attracted him to a seafaring life. The stony soil could not support a dense population; and the vast mountains on the north kept the Greeks from pushing out into central Europe. All these features of their situation combined to make them a commercial and colonizing folk. We have seen how easy was navigation in the Aegean, and how a chain of islands reached far out in the direction of Africa and Egypt. In brief, the nearness of the Aegean area to the Orient and its openness in that direction made it the first region of the West to be visited by eastern ships—hence the birthplace of European civilization.

Most important of all was the effect of these physical surroundings on the mind. The poor soil compelled the Greeks to form economical habits of life, so that moderation controlled their thought as well as their action. They became the best balanced people the world has known. The mild climate and gentle changes of season rendered them happy. The bracing air stimulated clear thinking. The bare, sharply-pointed mountains awakened in the soul that love of intellectual beauty which lifts the Greeks above all other peoples. Finally, the diversity of climate, soil, and products combined with other favouring influences to create a nation famous for its men of genius in literature, science, art, and statesmanship.

CHAPTER III

THE CRETAN AND MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATIONS

ABOUT 3500–1000 B.C.

I. THE REMAINS; THE POPULATION

32. Recent Discoveries.—Till recently historians have begun their account of Greek affairs with the eighth century B.C., some of them precisely with the year 776;¹ and for the first century and a half they have given hardly more than a few bare dates. But all this has been changed by explorations in the Aegean area. The pioneer in the work was Heinrich Schliemann (Shlee'mahn). In his boyhood he learned the stories told by the Hellenic poet Homer of the deeds of mighty heroes during the Trojan war;² and thinking them real history, he believed the ancient city of Troy might be found buried beneath the earth. To achieve the task of finding the city became the inspiration of his life. After amassing a fortune in business, in 1870 he began digging on the hilltop where, from Homer's description, he concluded Troy must have stood. This hill is in north-western Asia Minor, not far from the sea. The result more than justified his hopes. On this spot he and his successor in the work unearthed the ruins of nine settlements, built above one another and belonging to different ages. It is calculated that the lowest settlement, a rude village, was inhabited about 3500 B.C., and that the sixth, which shows a highly developed civilization, flourished 1500–1000. Afterward Schliemann excavated Tiryns and Mycenae in Argolis, Greece. They were contemporary with the sixth city at Troy. Mycenae showed such signs of wealth and culture that he believed it to have been the centre of the civilization which flourished at that time on the shores of Greece and in Troy. Hence he called the civilization Mycenaean.

¹ § 56, n. 1

² § 64

After these discoveries it was necessary to begin the history of Greece as early as 1500 B.C. But even this date has more recently been found altogether too late. Since 1899 Arthur Evans, an English archæologist, has unearthed a great palace at Cnossus, Crete, and other scholars have made similar though smaller discoveries in other parts of the island. These explorations prove the Cretan civilization to have begun far earlier than the Mycenaean; to be, in fact, as old as that of Babylonia. In brief, they make it necessary for us to begin our study of European civilization at about 3500 B.C.

These dates we do not get from the records of the Cretans, for their writing has not yet been deciphered. They are based on Egyptian chronology, which is fairly certain back to 3500. There was an interchange of wares between Egypt and the Aegean area; and by a comparative study of these objects we can reconstruct the dates of Aegean culture.¹

33. Earliest Inhabitants.—Greek myths preserved the names of some pre-Hellenic tribes long after they had become extinct. As an example we may name the Pelasgians, who were merely one of the many primitive tribes. The pre-Hellenic inhabitants had no common name, and we do not know to what race or races they belonged. We can trace the progress of their civilization only by means of their works which still survive.

II. THE CRETAN CIVILIZATION

34. Beginnings.—As early as 3500 B.C. there were village settlements over the entire Aegean region. The inhabitants lived in round huts, made tools and arms of stone, and formed and decorated rude pottery by the hand without the help of a wheel. Even at this early time there was commerce with Egypt. Among the villages of the period were the oldest settlements at Troy and at Cnossus, Crete. This was the Stone Age.

It would be possible to trace the civilization of the region from this point through successive stages of progress and de-

¹ It should be borne in mind, however, that all the dates in Greek history before about 700 B.C. are merely approximate. Some of those given may be even two or three centuries too early or too late.

cline. We could see the gradual improvement of pottery, the introduction of copper and then of bronze wares, of gold and silver, of the art of writing, the growth of architecture, and of many other embellishments of life. Crete, in close commerce with Egypt, led this movement. Without following it in detail, we shall take a brief view of Cretan life at the height of its development—about 2200–1500 B.C.



A CORRIDOR IN THE PALACE AT CNOSSUS

The large jars were evidently for the storage of provisions

(From a photograph)

35. The Palace and the Court People.—The king of Cnossus lived with his courtiers in a palace which for vastness would compare with the great works of Egypt. It comprised large rectangular courts, long corridors, and a multitude of chambers and store-rooms. In one of the rooms was found the throne on which the king once sat, with benches against the walls for his noble councillors. Another room, fitted up with benches,



THE THRONE ROOM IN PALACE AT CNOSSUS

A stone chair for the king ; on both sides stone benches for the guests

(From a photograph)

seems to have been used as a school. The frescoes on the walls picture the brilliant court life of the period. "Sometimes



A CRETAN VASE

Decorated with lilies

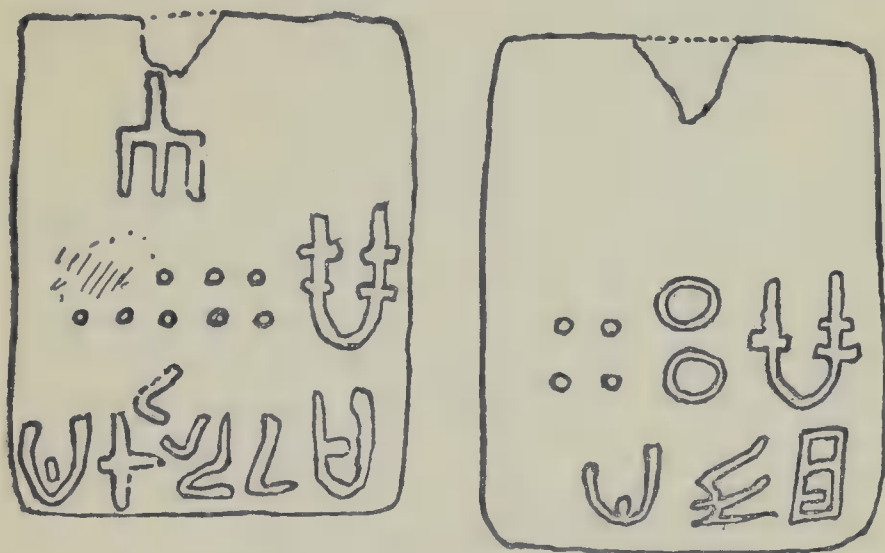
(From *Annual of the British School at Athens*, x. p. 7)

the dependents of the prince march into the palace in stately procession, bringing their gifts; sometimes the court is filled with gaily-adorned dames and curled gentlemen, standing, sitting, gesticulating vigorously, and flirting. We see the ladies, like Oriental women, trying to preserve the fresh whiteness of their complexion. Again the people of the court are watching a troop of bull trainers",¹ — composed of youths and maidens. The nobles pictured in these scenes were accustomed to fine clothing, jewellery, and furniture. They had vases of beautiful form and finish, delicately cut and

¹From a report by Dr. Arthur Evans

engraved gems as seals, and dagger blades inlaid with the precious metals. In artistic taste and skill they far surpassed the Orientals. The forms of men and animals in their art are especially graceful and true to nature.

36. Writing.—They had two systems of writing, the earlier hieroglyphic; the later a simple linear script. Thousands of little clay tablets have been found in one of the rooms of the palace, covered with this writing. Doubtless they are accounts



CRETAN LINEAR WRITING ON CLAY TABLETS
(From *Annual of the British School at Athens*, ix. p. 52)

of receipts and dues; some of them may be a record of events. A larger tablet, found elsewhere, seems to be a list of offerings to a deity. In a word, their script was used for religious, business, and possibly historical purposes. When scholars succeed in deciphering this writing, we shall know the language of the Cretans and shall better understand their civilization.

37. Society and Government.—It is clear that society was divided into the many toilers and the few nobles and that the king was absolute master. There is strong evidence of peace throughout the island, of the union of all under one chief king. He built no walls of defence, for he placed his confidence in the navy. Egypt could not send over sea an army strong enough

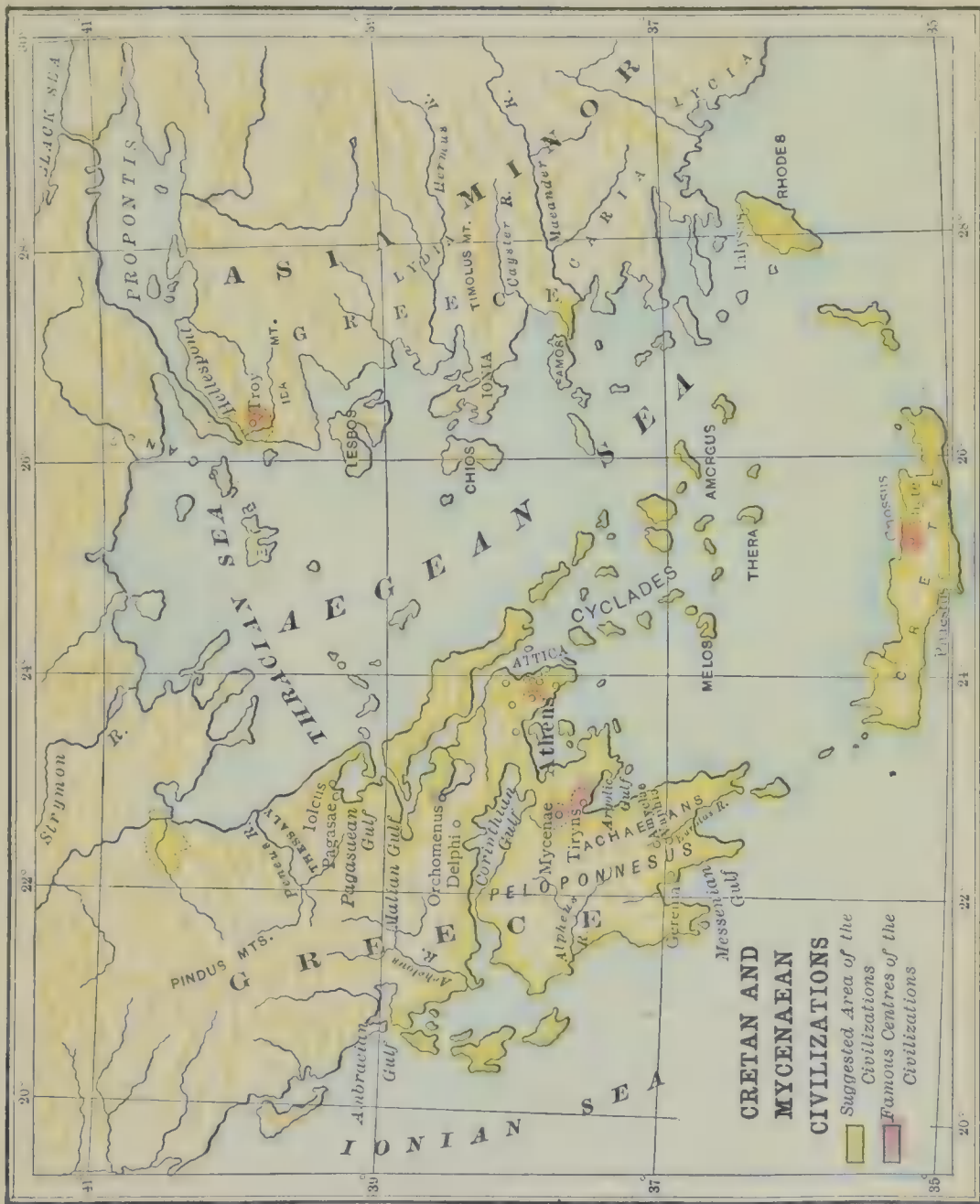
to conquer him. Rather he preferred to buy the favour of Pharaoh with rich gifts, while he himself extended his sway over many Aegean islands.

III. ORIGIN OF THE HELLENIC RACE

38. The Indo-Europeans.—The Cretans, described above, were one of the stocks from which the Greeks of later times were descended. The other stock comprised the Indo-Europeans. In the word Indo-European the part "Indo" has reference to India, and the name was contrived to denote the most westerly people (Europeans) and the most easterly people (Hindoos) of the group. Indo-Europeans are those of the White race, whatever their descent, who speak an Indo-European tongue. All languages of the group have descended from a common parent speech.¹ This parent speech must have belonged to a people who once lived together as a group of closely related tribes in a definite region—probably the great steppe which lies north of the Black and Caspian Seas. About 3000 B.C. these tribes began to move apart and to develop into separate peoples. Some passed up the Danube River and thence, about 2500, into Greece.

39. The Turmoil of Settlement; the Hellenic Race.—It would be useless to attempt a detailed account of the immigration, as the Greeks themselves had no record of it and could not remember that their ancestors had ever come from a foreign land. Doubtless the Indo-Europeans entered gradually by tribes and sometimes by families or individuals. Even in their old home they were probably not all of one blood, but were composed of divers stocks intermingled; and while each tribe was migrating it was continually taking up into itself all manner of people whom it met with on the way. When these immigrants entered Greece they mingled with the natives, and the blend was the Hellenic race. The language of the Hellenes

¹ Our word *father*, for instance, is in Sanskrit (the classical language of India) *pitar*, in ancient Persian *pitar*, in Greek *πατήρ* (*pater*), in Latin *pater*, in German *vater*, and similarly through the other kindred tongues. These words for father have descended from a single word in the parent speech. All these nations whose languages are so nearly connected we call Aryan, or Indo-European.



was that of the Indo-European invaders, but the greater part of their civilization came to them from the Cretans.

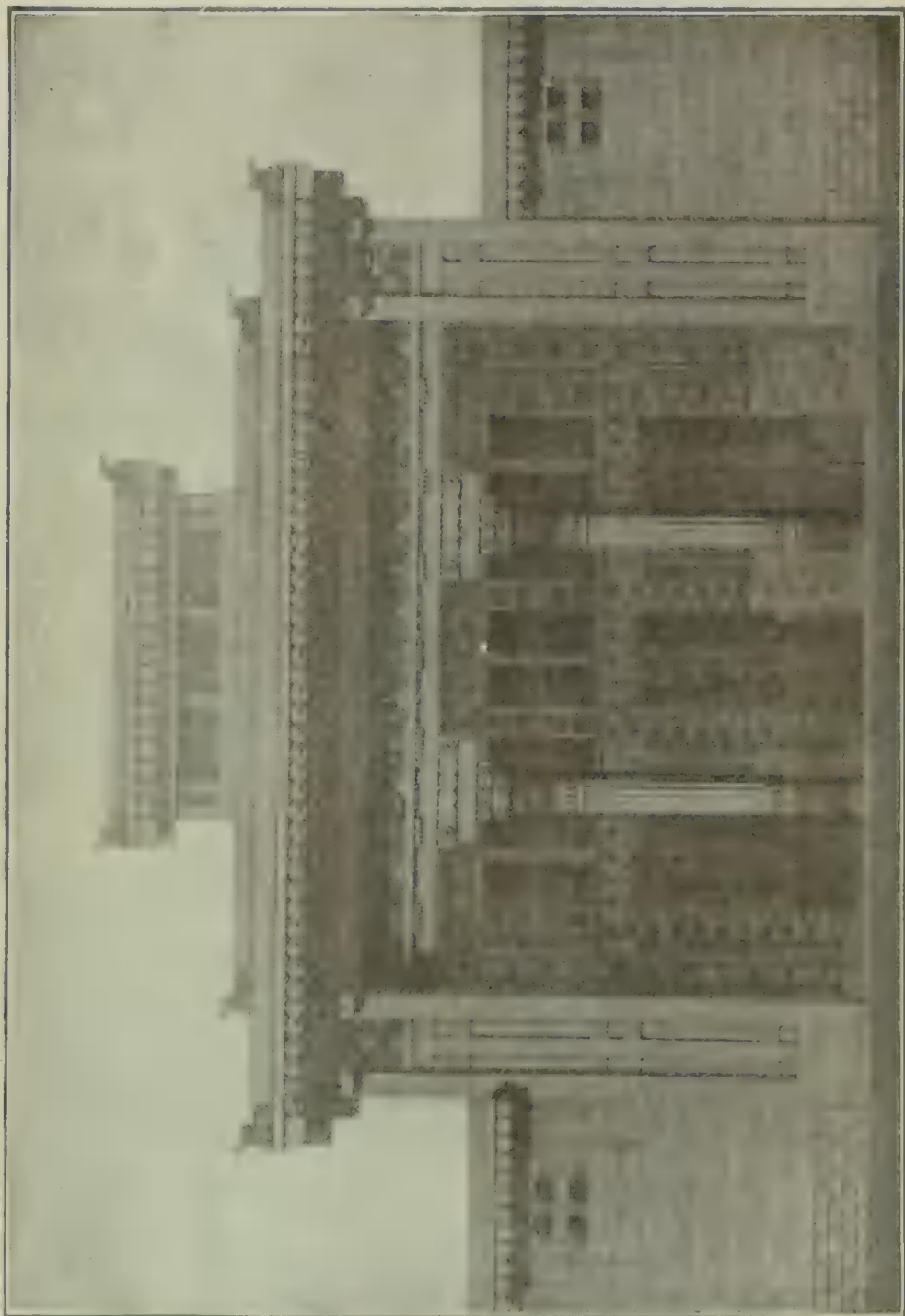
There must have been continual fighting between the invaders and the natives, and among the immigrant tribes as well, for the possession of the best lands. For centuries, therefore, Greece was full of uproar and violence. Then came a period of quiet, 1700–1200 B.C., in which the people along the eastern coast traded with the Cretans and adopted their civilization. This peaceful life, however, was interrupted by the migration of less civilized Greeks from the north-west of the peninsula—from Epirus, Aetolia, and the vicinity—into east and south Peloponnese. These people came afterward to be known as the Dorians, and their movement into Peloponnese is termed the Dorian migration. It was the last great migration within the peninsula, and the only one remembered by the Greeks of later times. It took place about 1200 B.C.

IV. THE MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION

ABOUT 1600–1000 B.C.

40. Beginnings; Tiryns.—While the Hellenic race was coming into existence in Greece, the Cretans were making great progress in the useful and fine arts. Through commerce their products, with some knowledge of their industries, were extending to all parts of the Aegean area and to countries far beyond. But for a long time the Greeks, distracted by the turmoil of migration and conquest, took little interest in these improvements. Toward the middle of the second millennium (2000–1000) B.C., however, as life became for a season more secure, great numbers of Cretan artists, artisans, and merchants must have flocked to the Greek shores and have aided in the building up of a civilization there as brilliant as that in the homeland. This was at a time when Crete had reached its highest development and had begun to decline.

Under this foreign influence the Greek chieftains along the east coast founded little kingdoms, generally in the alluvial plains at the mouths of rivers. Each kingdom centered in a strongly fortified city. One of these settlements was Tiryns,



A MYCENAEAN PALACE
(Restoration ; from Perrot and Chipiez, VI)

on a low, flat hill a little more than a mile from the Argolic Gulf, the oldest city, as far as we know, on the continent of Europe. Its walls were of huge, rudely dressed stones, built, the myths would make us believe, by a race of giants called Cy-clo'pes. For this reason stone work of this rough kind is described as Cy-clo-pe'an. The highest part of the citadel, inclosed by these defences, was occupied by a great palace. Like that at Cnossus, it contained a multitude of apartments,



ROYAL CEMETERY OF MYCENAE

On the citadel

(From a photograph)

including separate courts and halls for men and women; a bath-room with conduit and drains; sleeping-rooms, corridors, and porticoes. The palace was smaller and simpler than that of Cnossus, but very great for a king who ruled over only a few square miles of territory. The walls and palace tell a vivid tale of the wealth and luxury of the king and of his unlimited authority over the lives and labour of his subjects.

41. Mycenae.—Mycenae was built on a steep hill at the extreme north of the plain of Argolis. Around it ran a wall of much finer workmanship than that of Tiryns. When the city

outgrew this space, it extended over a low adjoining ridge. The older and better-fortified part is distinguished as the citadel; the later addition is termed the lower city. Mycenae was younger than Tiryns, but, because of the favourable situation, its king in time became ruler of all Argolis. Here Schliemann unearthed not only a palace, but private houses, the homes of lords and servants. More remarkable were the royal



ENTRANCE TO THE TOMB OF ATREUS

Lower city, Mycenae

(From ■ photograph)

tombs grouped in and about a circular inclosure on the hill. Here were buried the earlier kings with their families. The later rulers made for themselves, in the lower city, immense dome-shaped tombs. One of them, the so-called Tomb of A'treus, is about fifty feet in height and the same in diameter. A tomb of the kind was built underground in the hillside and was approached by a long, horizontal passage. All those at Mycenae were found empty; doubtless they had been pillaged. From these remains, especially from the contents of the tombs

in the citadel, we can make out how the people of Mycenae lived and even what they wore and ate.



GRAVESTONE FOUND AT MYCENAE
Warrior in chariot ; his squire walking ahead
(From Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*)

The court lady dressed in a bodice and full-flounced skirt. The cloth was fine linen or soft wool of sea-purple stain. "The diadem of gold was on her brow, golden fillets and pins of exquisite technique shining out of her dark hair ; golden bands about her throat and golden necklaces falling upon her bosom ;

golden bracelets upon her arms, gold rings chased with inimitable art upon her fingers, and finally her very robes agleam with gold.”¹ The men wore a simple cloth around the waist, either hanging loose or drawn together in such a way as to form short trousers. On the shoulders they pinned a mantle. Like the women, they loaded themselves with jewellery. They enjoyed perfumes and took delight in gazing admiringly at themselves in their bronze mirrors.

In war the king or noble equipped himself with a helmet, with a huge shield which reached from neck to ankles, and with woollen or leathern greaves. His weapons of defence were sword and spear. Unable to carry his heavy equipment far, he rode to battle in a chariot drawn by a team of horses, but dismounted for combat. The common men dressed lightly, wore no defensive armour, and fought chiefly with the bow and sling. They counted for little in war and politics.

The Mycenaeans believed in a future life. They must have imagined that the soul, living in the tomb, used and enjoyed all the wealth of utensils and ornaments buried with the body.² They worshipped not only the dead, but other gods represented by little idols.

42. Relations with Crete; the Decline.—Mycenae was the richest and most brilliant and powerful of the cities in Greece during this period. Hence the civilization of the age is called Mycenaean. But there were many other seats of the same culture in Greece, as in Laconia near Sparta, and at Athens. Across the Aegean Sea, the “sixth city” at Troy was contemporary, and life there was similar. In brief, the same culture now prevailed over the Aegean area. Everywhere is seen the influence of Crete. The engraved gems, the fine gold work, the inlaid daggers, and much of the other movable goods found at Mycenae were undoubtedly imported from the island. Cretan architects built the palaces, and Cretan artists frescoed the interior walls with scenes like those they had painted in their own country. Many immigrants must have come from Crete to seek their fortunes among these new and enterprising

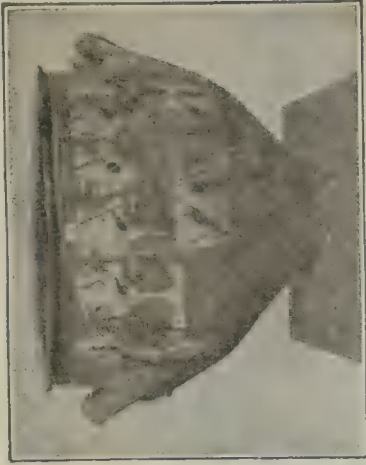
¹ Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, 189 f.



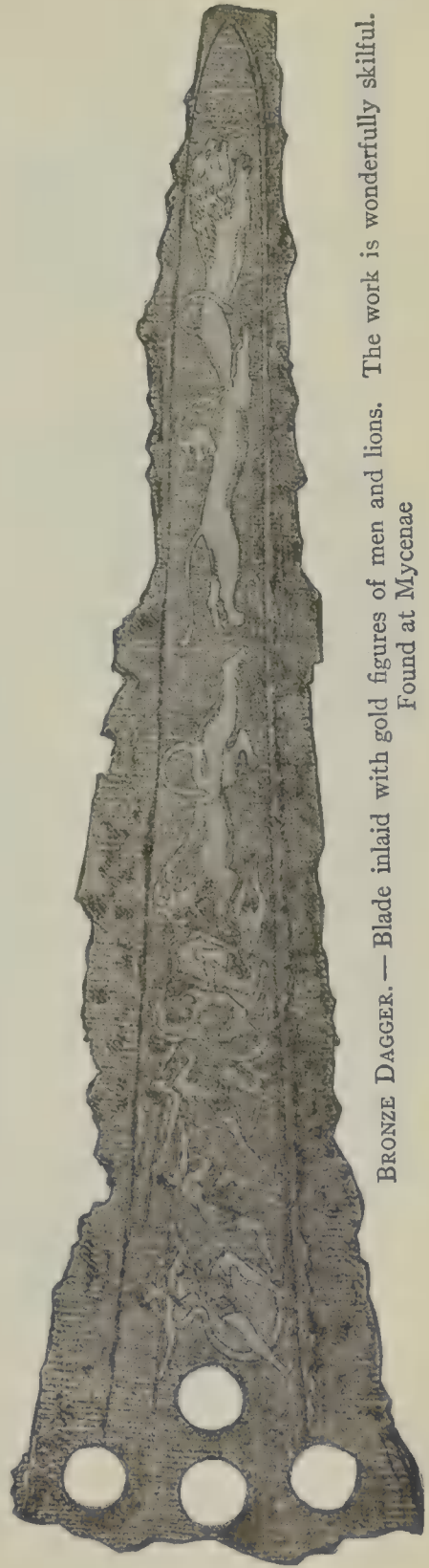
BEZEL OF A GOLD RING
Showing women, a fruit tree,
sun and moon. Found at
Mycenae



BEZEL OF A GOLD RING
Showing a combat of warriors.
Found at Mycenae



THE "WARRIOR VASE"
Late Mycenaean or Early Epic. Contrast
dress and arms with those of II and IV



BRONZE DAGGER. — Blade inlaid with gold figures of men and lions. The work is wonderfully skilful.
Found at Mycenae



GOLD CUPS FROM VAPHIO, LACONIA

On the cup above is represented an attempt to catch wild bulls in a net; below are domestic bulls. The work is remarkably beautiful

people. The difference between the two cultures was not striking. It was chiefly one of periods. The earlier civilization was inventive and aggressive; the later was for a time stationary, then decadent. In Crete the temperament was more artistic; in Tiryns and Mycenae more political. The cities of Greece were walled, but not those of Crete. The palace at Tiryns or Mycenae was simpler and more regular in form than that of Cnossus and included features afterward inherited by the Greek temple. Life must have been strenuous in Greece. There were wars for supremacy among the kings, and doubtless fiercer struggles to maintain their freedom against the barbarian tribes who roamed through the interior of the peninsula, pressing down from the north. Hence arose the mighty walls which surrounded Mycenae and other cities, and which still excite the wonder of travellers. As Crete declined, some of the Greek kings crossed over to the island and made conquests there.

Life in the Aegean cities, though of a higher type than that of the Orient, was in spirit and in broad features the same. Fortunately this condition did not last forever. The few who enjoyed wealth and luxury became fewer. They so deteriorated in body and mind that they could no longer protect their cities from the less civilized people who surrounded them.¹ This was about the time when Egypt came under foreign rule and when the Chaldeans, a warlike tribe from the Arabian desert, swept over Babylonia. Through internal decay the ancient world was sinking far down toward barbarism.

¹ Great stress must not be placed on the Dorian migration as the cause of the decline. The same civilization declined equally in Attica, which the Dorians did not touch. As a rule, conquerors destroy less than jealous neighbours. The burning of Mycenaean palaces may be due to wars with neighbouring cities, to internal revolutions, sometimes even to accident. The great cause was the internal decay, which was affecting the civilization of the whole world.

CHAPTER.IV

THE FIRST PERIOD OF COLONIZATION; THE EPIC OR HOMERIC AGE

I. THE FIRST PERIOD OF COLONIZATION (ABOUT 1500-1000 B.C.); THE HELLENIC RACES

43. The Aeolians.—As soon as the Hellenes in their migrations reached the sea, they began to cross to the neighbouring islands. This early period of colonization within the Aegean began and ended approximately with the opening and close of the Mycenaean Age. We shall review their principal settlements in geographical order from north to south.

From Thessaly colonists crossed the wide expanse of the sea to the island of Lesbos. There they founded Myt-i-le'ne and other cities. Thence passing over to the mainland of Asia Minor, they occupied a narrow strip of coast extending some distance to the south of Lesbos. Their territory on the mainland was Ae'o-lis, and the inhabitants were Ae-o'li-ans. The same dialect of the Greek language, with slight variations, was spoken in Aeolis, in Lesbos, in most of Thessaly, and in Boeotia. Hence we group the inhabitants of all these countries together under the name Aeolians. In speaking of the Aeolians as a race, however, we must bear in mind that along with the colonists from Thessaly went people from other parts of Greece, and that the emigrants, on reaching their new home, mingled with the natives. Blood was mixed in the colonies to a greater extent than in the homeland, and the same thing is true of the other Greek races which colonized the Aegean area.

44. The Ionians.—Meanwhile emigrants from Attica were taking possession of the Cyclades. Two of those islands, Delos and Paros, have been mentioned. Near Paros is Nax'os, which

in time became politically important. Beyond the Cyclades, near the Asiatic coast, they occupied Samos and Chios, and lastly the adjacent strip of coast known as Ionia. "Of all men whom we know", says an ancient Greek historian,¹ "the Ionians had the good fortune to build their cities in the most favourable position for climate and seasons". The soil, too, is remarkably productive. The greatest of their cities was Mi-le'tus, a centre of industry, commerce, and intellectual life. In fact, for centuries after its founding, Miletus took the lead in Hellenic civilization. In its widest and most popular sense the word Ionian applies not only to the people of Ionia, but to their kinsmen on the islands and in Attica. The Ionic race accordingly occupied the central section of Aegean islands and coasts south of the Aeolians.

45. The Dorians.—While the Aeolians and the Ionians were thus expanding across the Aegean Sea, Dorians from Peloponnese settled Me'los and The'ra in the southern Cyclades and conquered a part of Crete. The population of this island was now a medley of races and tongues, as the poet Homer² describes it: "There is a land called Crete in the midst of the wine-dark sea, a fair land and rich, begirt with water, and therein are men innumerable and ninety cities. And all have not the same speech, but there is a confusion of tongues; there dwell Achaeans, and there, too, native Cretans high of heart, and Cy-do'ni-ans there and Dorians of waving plumes, and goodly Pelasgians". Farther on, the Dorians settled Rhodes and the adjacent coast of Asia Minor. In this way the Dorian race came to occupy the southernmost section of the Aegean coasts and islands. The Aeolians, the Ionians, and the Dorians were the three races most prominent in earlier Greek history.

The period closed with the colonization of Cyprus by Arcadians (about 1000 B.C.).³

¹ Herodotus, i. 142

² *Odyssey*, xix. 170 ff.

³ The Arcadians and their colonists together formed a fourth race — the Arcadian-Cyprian. For the sake of completeness a fifth and a sixth race may be mentioned here: (5) the so-called north-west Greeks, occupying Epirus, Aetolia, and the other countries of that region, with Achaea in northern Peloponnese, (6) the Eleans in north-western Peloponnese. This classification is based on the dialects.

II. THE EPIC OR HOMERIC AGE

ABOUT 1000—700 B.C.

46. The Source: Homer.—An epic is a long narrative poem which celebrates the deeds of real or mythical heroes. We still read with pleasure the two great Hellenic epics, the *Il'i-ad* and the *Od'ys-sey*. They are simple, graceful, and interesting; in that department of poetry they are unrivalled. Tradition declares the author to have been Homer, a blind old poet, who wandered about from city to city chanting his beautiful verses to eager listeners. So great was his reputation that seven cities boasted of being his birthplace.¹ The *Iliad* tells a story connected with the Greek war against Troy. The *Odyssey* narrates the wanderings of the hero O-dys'seus on his return from the Trojan war. These stories will be found among the myths in the following chapter.

47. Historical Value of Homer's Poems.—The descriptions of palaces, of their furniture and decorations, and of the fine gold work, given in these poems, so accord with the actual remains of the Mycenaean Age that we must believe that Homer was a guest in some of the palaces while they were still occupied and in all their glory. Then, too, many Mycenaean objects of art must have survived as heirlooms in great families long after the age had passed away. But other features of Homeric life prove it to have been in advance of the Mycenaean. For instance, Homer is well acquainted with the use of iron, whereas the Mycenaean period lay in the Bronze Age, which preceded that of Iron. The country, too, is different. Homer lived in Ionia and composed in an old Ionic dialect. His period, therefore, followed the Ionic colonization. Although his stories are myths, probably containing a few real traditions of great achievements of the past, the manners and customs he describes are those of his own time and country. Ionic life in this

¹ Many other epic poems were ascribed to Homer by the earlier Greeks; but in time a critical study of all this epic literature left to him the authorship of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* alone. In the Alexandrian Age (§ 291) there were scholars who, on insufficient evidence, asserted that these two poems could not have been composed by one author. In recent times, after a long period of controversy over their origin, the theory of a unity of authorship of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* prevails.

period was a growth from the Mycenaean, freshened by new blood and by the stimulus of new surroundings.

48. Social Life of the Ionians (1000–700 B.C.).—Among the Ionians of Homer's time, family and kin were sacred, and under the care of "household" Zeus, whose altar was the hearth. Parent and child, brothers and cousins, united by the twofold bond of blood and religion, stood by one another in danger, for the state had not yet begun to protect the lives of the citizens. Zeus commanded men to be kind to wayfarers. A common form of welcome was: "Hail, stranger, with us thou shalt be kindly entertained, and thereafter, when thou hast tasted meat, thou shalt tell us that whereof thou hast need".¹ Hospitality, love of kindred, freedom of women, and the gentle manners of home and of social life were the most admirable features of an age whose darker side appears in time of war. For then men sacked and burned cities, killed the warriors whom they captured, and enslaved the women and children. Piracy was respectable; the weak and homeless had no protection.

49. Property and Labour.—In time of peace the lords of the land kept their servants busy in the country planting orchards and vineyards, raising barley, or tending the herds, from which they drew most of their living. As there were few skilled workmen, they had to make at home nearly everything they needed in their daily life. Kings and queens worked along with their slaves. Having as yet no money, they bartered their produce and reckoned values in cattle or in pounds of bronze, iron, or other metal. Although Phoenician traders supplied the rich with costly wares from the East, the Ionians were themselves building ships and beginning a trade which was soon to drive the vessels of Phoenicia from Greek waters.

50. Government.—While the common people were working in the fields or were building walls, houses, and ships, the nobles lived in the city in the enjoyment of wealth and authority. The greater lords met in a council to advise and assist the king in all public business and to provide for the interests of

¹ *Odyssey*, i. 123 f.

their class. The king, who was merely the first among the nobles, was general, priest, and judge. He led the army, prayed to the gods for the city's safety, and settled cases of private law. He did not try, however, to keep the peace or prevent murder, but allowed the families of his state to fight one another as much as they pleased. His power was by no means absolute, for not only did he respect the wishes of the council, but he brought all his important plans before the gathering of freemen. This assembly did not vote; the people merely shouted assent or showed disapproval by silence. They exercised far less influence on the king than did his noble advisers.¹

¹ Religion, including that of the Homeric Age, will be considered in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V

RELIGION AND MYTH

51. Future Life.—When in the earliest times the Greeks began to think about themselves, they tried to explain sleep and death. While a man was resting in slumber they supposed his second self, a shadowy form of the body, was attending to its routine duties or perhaps experiencing strange adventures in dream life. To them death was an eternal sleep. The body decayed; but the second self, or soul, abiding in the grave, ate, drank, and used the tools or enjoyed the luxuries which had been his in life. As he expected his living kinsmen to supply him with food and drink, he severely punished those who neglected this duty, but protected and blessed all his relatives who at proper times and with fitting ceremonies brought him the customary offerings. For these reasons the Greeks continued to sacrifice to the dead even until the introduction of Christianity.¹

In course of time the Greeks began to imagine a place—the realm of the god Ha'des—beneath the earth, whither all souls went after leaving the body, there to pass a joyless, dreamlike eternity. Cha'ron, the divine boatman, ferried the souls across the Styx River to the home of the dead, where Cer'be-rus, a three-headed dog, keeping watch at the gate, allowed all to enter but none to depart. Still later the idea of a judgment arose; three judges of the souls below distributed rewards and punishments according to the deeds done in the body.

52. The Gods.—In the childhood of their race the Greeks were thinking not only about themselves, but about the world in which they lived. They worshipped the powers of nature. Gradually they came to believe that all these deities were like men, that they differed from human beings simply in their

¹ Fundamentally their view was like that of the Egyptians (§ 10), but it had a different development.

greater stature and strength and in their immortality. Homer sometimes represents a god as wounded by a man in battle. "Yea, and the gods in the likeness of strangers from far countries put on all manner of shapes, and wander through the cities, beholding the violence and the righteousness of men".¹ As the gods were only magnified men, they had both good and evil qualities; and the influences of religion were both moral and immoral.

53. The Twelve Gods of Olympus.—The greatest deity was Zeus, "father of gods and men". After dethroning his father Cron'os and putting down all opposition, he reigned supreme over the whole world. Bestowing the ocean as a kingdom upon his brother Po-sei'don, and the region beneath the earth upon Hades, another brother, he retained the sky and earth for his own dominion. On the top of snow-capped Olympus² he dwelt with his brothers, sisters, and children. Twelve gods made up the great Olympic council. It included:

Zeus, father of gods and men
 Poseidon, god of the sea
 A'res, god of war
 A-pol'lo, the ideal of manly beauty, god of light, of the bow and arrows, of music and medicine
 Her'mes, messenger of the gods and patron of commerce
 He-phæes'tus, god of fire and of the forge.

He'ra, wife of Zeus, guardian of women and of marriage
 Pal'lās A-the'na, who sprang full grown and clad in armour from the head of Zeus, patron of war and wisdom, especially of skilled labour
 Aph-ro-di'te, goddess of love and beauty
 Ar'te-mis, goddess of the chase, a modest maiden, who protected girls
 Hes'ti-a, goddess of the family hearth and dwelling
 De-me'ter, patroness of agriculture and of civilization.

Many lesser gods attended upon these great divinities; many, too, inhabited the earth, sea, and air, and had no access to Olympus.

54. The Oracle of Apollo at Delphi.—The Greeks believed that certain of the gods revealed their will and foretold the future

¹ *Odyssey*, xvii. 485 ff.

² § 22. Sometimes, however, the poet represents the gods as living in the sky or in the clouds; and once or twice he speaks of Zeus as "ruling from Mount Ida" (north-western Asia Minor).

to men. The means by which the revelation was made was called an oracle. The same word denoted the utterance of the god. The most celebrated oracle in Hellas was that of Apollo at Delphi. High up in a ravine at the southern base of Mount Parnassus, in the midst of magnificent scenery, stood his temple.¹ Within was a fissure in the earth through which volcanic vapour issued, inspiring the Pyth'i-a, or prophetess of Apollo, who sat over it on a tripod. In ecstasy from the vapour, she muttered something in reply to questions; a priest standing near wrote out her utterance, and gave it to the questioner as the word of Zeus delivered to man through his son Apollo. The oracle extended its influence beyond the neighbourhood and became national. Apollo then came to be recognized as the expounder of religious and moral law for all Hellas; he often gave his sanction to political measures; he watched over the calendar and was the guide and patron of colonists. His advice was sought by individuals and by states on both private and public matters. Those who sought his favour sent him presents, till his treasuries were full of wealth. The Delphic priests, who were the real authors of the oracles, kept themselves acquainted with current events that they might give intelligent advice; but, when necessary to preserve the credit of Apollo, they offered double-meaning prophecies so as to be right in any event.² In moral questions their influence was usually wholesome, as they preferred to advise just and moderate conduct. But sometimes the oracle was bribed, sometimes it lent its aid to the schemes of politicians, and in the war of independence which the Greeks fought against Persia, it lost favour by being unpatriotic.

55. The Delphic Amphictyony.—The shrine and property of Apollo were in the keeping of a league of twelve tribes. Originally the members were all in the neighbourhood of Delphi—in Thessaly and central Greece—but in time some of the tribes were so enlarged as to admit cities farther away. A religious league of the kind was called an *am-phic'ty-on-y*—"union of neighbours". At fixed times the members gathered at the shrine

¹ § 26

² For an example of the ambiguous response, see § 94.

of the god to celebrate a festival in his honour. Deputies from the tribes met together to deliberate on the interests of the god and his worship. This body of representatives was an am-

phictyonic council.

Though the members of the League continued to fight among themselves, and would not help one another when attacked by foreigners, they recognized certain laws of war; for instance, they were not to destroy any allied city or cut it off from running water in a siege, and any one who wronged the god or injured his property they were to punish with foot and hand and voice and



THE WRESTLERS

(Uffizi, Florence. From a photograph)

with every means in their power. This they did by declaring a "sacred war" against the offending state.

Other less celebrated amphyctyonies need not be mentioned here.

56. The Great National Games.—Other religious institutions were the great national games. There were four of them, held at Olympia, Ne'me-a, on the Isthmus of Corinth, and at Delphi, each in honour of the chief god of the place.¹ The Olympian games were the most splendid. Once in four years a vast number of Greeks from all the shores of the Mediterranean gathered on the banks of the Alpheus in Elis to see the competitions. The month in which the games were held was proclaimed a holy season, during which all Hellas ought to be at peace with

¹ Apollo at Delphi, Poseidon on the Isthmus, and Zeus at Nemea and at Olympia

itself. The multitude encamped about the sacred inclosure of Zeus, the great god of Olympia. "Merchants set up their booths, and money-changers their tables, all classes of artists tried to collect audiences and admirers, crowds attended the exercises of the athletes who were in training, or admired the practice of the horses and chariots which were entered for the races. Heralds recited treaties, military or commercial, recently formed between Greek cities, in order that they might be more widely known."¹

The competitors in the games had to be Greeks of good character and religious standing and of sufficient athletic training. The judges of the games examined the qualifications of candidates and at the end bestowed the wreath of victory. There were contests in running, leaping, discus-throwing, spear-hurling, wrestling, boxing, and racing of horses and chariots. Such contests promoted art; the Greek sculptor found his best models among the athletes. These great national games also fostered commerce, peace, and unity.²

57. Historical Myths: How the Greeks reconstructed their Early History.—The Greeks invented myths to explain not only nature, but also the origin and early history of their race. Some of these stories doubtless contain a kernel of historical truth handed down by tradition. But their chief value is to show how the Greeks attempted to reconstruct history. The Cretan script had fallen into disuse. Most probably the Greeks themselves never learned it; and they did not adopt the Phoenician alphabet till some time after 900 B.C. Having no written records, therefore, they used freely their brilliant imaginations in changing and amplifying their imperfect traditions of the distant past. The stories they thus invented are worth knowing, not only as an expression of the Greek mind, but also because they fill a large place in literature and are often represented in art.

¹ P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, 275 f.

² In time there grew up a system of chronology based on these festivals. It took as a starting-point the year 776 B.C. of our reckoning. The four years intervening between two festivals was termed an Olympiad, and the Olympiads were numbered in their order from 776 down. The initial date is purely arbitrary, and an acquaintance with the system is necessary for those only who read the later Greek historians and the more erudite modern works on ancient Greece.

Many of the earlier myths are found in the *Theog'ony* of Hes'i-od, a poet who lived about 700 B.C. The word Theogony means genealogy of the gods. In this work he attempted to give a systematic account of the birth of the gods and of their early relations with one another. It included the origin of man and of the Hellenic race and its subdivisions. The principal historical myths, from Homer, Hesiod, and other sources, are given below.¹



PERSEUS CUTTING OFF MEDUSA'S HEAD
(A Metope from Selinus, about 600 B.C.; from a photograph)

kings—doubtless in the earliest form of the myth fathers—of four Hellenic races: Ae-o'li-ans, Dorians, Achaeans, and Ionians. The Achaeans here mentioned were the inhabitants of Peloponnese before the Dorian migration. The Greeks believed that the Dorian invaders crowded them into northern Peloponnese, where in historical times we find the country Achaea. The location of the other races has been explained above.²

59. The Heroes of Argolis.—The Greeks as easily invented myths to explain the origin and early growth of their cities. They imagined that, in time long past, heroes, the sons or near descendants of the gods, lived on earth. Taller, stronger, and braver than men, the heroes protected their communities from

¹ The myths related here are for reading, not for minute study. It is important, however, to know the value of the myths and to make a thorough study of religion.

² The classification in the myth is imperfect, as it does not include all the Hellenes; see § 45, n. 3.

savage beasts and robbers and performed great deeds in war. Some of them founded cities or became the ancestors of tribes or nations. Though all the races, tribes, cities, and villages had their heroes, we shall notice a few only of those who became of national importance.

Per'seus of Argolis was a strong, brave hero. In his day lived the Gor'gons, monstrous women whose heads were covered with writhing snakes instead of hair. Any one who dared look a Gorgon in the face was instantly changed to stone. Commanded to kill Me-du'sa, the most frightful of these monsters, Perseus found her after great toil and careful searching and cut off her head. Though he met with many other dangers, his strength and courage overcame them all.

Alc-me'ne, a granddaughter of Perseus, while she was in exile at Thebes, bore to Zeus a son named Her'a-cles, who became the greatest of heroes. Though Zeus had planned that this beloved son should rule over all his neighbours, jealous Hera¹ compelled him to pass a toilsome life in fighting monsters at the bidding of his cowardly cousin who ruled Mycenae. Twelve great labours this weak master commanded him to perform, all of them full of danger and calling for the strength of a giant. In his search for the monsters to be slain he had to wander over nearly the whole world of the ancients; he even descended to the home of the dead to bring forth the watchdog Cerberus. But when he had ended his career of glorious toil, Zeus called him up to Olympus to dwell forever in joy among the deathless gods. In this way virtue received its reward.

60. The Return of the Heracleidae.—For three generations the Her-a-clei'dae—descendants of Heracles—remained in exile, deprived of their inherited right to the throne of Argos. Then it came about that the Dorians, who at that time dwelt in Doris, a mountainous little country in central Greece, chose the hero's great-grandsons, Tem'e-nus, Cres-phon'tes, and Ar-is-to-de'mus, to lead them in an invasion of Peloponnese. In a single battle they conquered the whole peninsula. Elis they

¹ For Zeus and Hera, see § 53

gave to their Aetolian guide; Temenus received Argos as his kingdom; Cresphontes was given fertile Messenia; and as Aristodemus had died on the way, his twin sons, Eu-rys'the-nes and Pro'cles, became the first kings of Laconia. For this reason Laconia always had two kings, one from the family of Eurysthenes, the other from that of Procles.¹ Thus were founded in Peloponnese three great Dorian states, each ruled by Heracleid kings.

61. The Heroes of Thebes.—Among the mythical heroes of Thebes, another great city of Greece, was Cad'mus—by birth a Phoenician, who wandered westward in search of his sister Eu-ro'pa, whom Zeus had stolen away. At the command of Apollo he gave up the search and founded the city of Thebes in Boeotia. Some generations later a curse of the gods drove the descendants of Cadmus to commit a fearful sin which well-nigh ruined the family. Oed'i-pus unwittingly married his mother, queen Jo-cas'ta. When she discovered who her husband was, the miserable queen hanged herself; and king Oedipus, after tearing out both his eyes, was forced into exile by his unfeeling subjects. In working out further the purpose of the wrathful gods, his sons E-te'o-cles and Pol-y-nei'ces, remaining in the city, quarrelled violently. Polyneices, driven into exile, took refuge with A-dras'tus, king of Argos, who called the mightiest heroes of his country to aid in restoring the fugitive. Seven chiefs with their followers appeared before Thebes, "seven leaders against seven gates arrayed, equal against equal foes".² From the citadel the inhabitants saw about the walls nothing but gleaming shields and spears, nothing they heard but the shouts of foes and the clanging of arms. Already the foremost assailant stood on the walls ready to shout victory, when Zeus with a thunderbolt dashed him down. The two brothers killed each other in single combat. The wave of war rolled back, and Thebes was free to celebrate her deliverance in dances and in thank-offerings to the gods.

62. The Heroes of Athens.—Athens, too, had her heroes. Ce'crops, half man, half serpent, was the founder and first king

¹ § 90

² Sophocles, *Antigone*

of the city on the A-crop'o-lis. This was a high, steep hill about four miles from the coast.¹ He named the settlement Cecropia, after himself. In his reign Athena and Poseidon strove for the possession of Cecropia; and as the goddess won the contest, she called the city Athens and the people Athenians, after her own name. Abiding henceforth on the Acropolis, she remained the chief deity and guardian of the state.

Many years afterward lived The'seus, the best-known Athenian hero. He was an athlete second only to Heracles in strength and valour. In his youth he won fame by killing robbers and monsters. Up to his time the Athenians had been paying a tribute of human beings to King Mi'nos of Crete, who wielded a great naval power.



"THESEUS"

(East pediment of the Parthenon; British Museum)

Every nine years they sent him seven youths and seven maidens as a sacrifice to Minotaur, a monstrous bull kept in the Lab'y-rinth. Theseus, however, accompanied one of these gloomy embassies to Cnossus; and after killing the monster, escaped from the intricate windings of the Labyrinth by following a thread given him by A-ri-ad'ne, daughter of Minos. When, after his return to Athens, he became king of the city, he united all the towns of Attica in one great state.

63. The Voyage of the Argonauts.—Sometimes heroes from several cities joined in national undertakings. Such an expedition was the voyage of the Ar'go-nauts in search of the golden fleece. Ja'son, heir to the throne of I-ol'cos in Thessaly, grew up in exile in a cave on Mount Pelion. But at the age of

¹ An acropolis is a fortified hilltop. The most famous acropolis in Greece is that at Athens.

twenty he returned to Iolcos to demand his rights of the reigning king, Pe'li-as, his father's step-brother. The deceitful ruler promised everything, if Jason would but bring from Colchis the golden fleece of a ram which years before had carried off two children of the royal household; for with the return of the fleece the gods, he thought, would allay a pestilence then raging among the people. In answer to Jason's call heroes from all Greece gathered to man the *Argo* for a voyage to Colchis. Fifty Argonauts—sailors of the *Argo*—struck the water with their oars, "and in their rapid hands the rowing sped untiringly".¹ Many troubles they had with the natives of the coasts along which they steered their way.

When the heroes reached Colchis, the king of the country promised them the golden fleece if Jason should plough a piece of land with fire-breathing bulls and sow it with dragons' teeth. The king's daughter Me-de'a, a sorceress, showed the hero how to do these deeds without harm to himself; and, as the king failed to keep his word, she helped the stranger steal the fleece from the cave where it hung and followed him aboard the ship to become his wife. On their way home the Argonauts wandered far and wide over the waters of the earth. This mythical voyage furnished the Greeks with subjects for songs and dramas.²

64. The Trojan War.—The most famous of heroic undertakings was the Trojan War. Helen, the wife of Men-e-la'us, king of Lacedaemon, was the fairest and most accomplished woman in Hellas. Most of the Grecian kings had sued for her hand; but when Menelaus won the prize, they bound themselves to uphold his right to her. Now it chanced that Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy, paid a visit to Menelaus; and taking advantage of his host's confidence, he persuaded Helen to desert her husband and go with him to Troy. As Priam refused to give her up, the kings of Hellas, true to their oaths, joined Menelaus in an attempt to recover her by force. In the harbour of Au'lis, on the Boeotian coast, gathered their ships

¹ Pindar, *Pythian Ode*, iv.

² For instance, Pindar's *Fourth Pythian Ode* and Euripides' *Medea*.

—nearly twelve hundred in number. Ag-a-mem'non, king of Argos or Mycenae and brother of Menelaus, was leader.

They landed near Troy, and nine years they besieged the city and harried the country and villages. Then A-chil'les, the most valiant hero in the army, and most dreaded by the enemy, quarrelled with Agamemnon over a captive maiden. The Greeks had assigned her to Achilles in his share of the spoil from a captured town, but Agamemnon had unjustly taken her from him. Withdrawing in anger to his tent, the impetuous youth refused to engage further in the war. Thereupon Zeus, as a favour to the mother of Achilles, gave victory to the besieged and sent countless woes upon the Greeks, till Agamemnon was ready to acknowledge the wrong he had done and make ample amends for it. It was no gift, however, which induced Achilles to resume his part in the war, but the death of his dear companion Pa'tro-clus at the hands of Hector, the greatest of Trojan heroes. Eagerly Achilles put on the armour forged for him by Hephaestus¹ and mounted his chariot drawn by fierce steeds. His teeth gnashed in rage at the Trojans, his eyes blazed like fire, and the gleam of his shield reached the sky. He drove the host of Troy before him like sheep, and many a renowned hero he slew with his own hand. At last he killed the hero of Troy without mercy; the Greeks mutilated the body, and pitiless Achilles dragged it at his chariot wheels.

Some time afterward Achilles was himself slain; but crafty O-dys'seus, king of Ith'a-ca, contrived a plan for taking Troy by stratagem. He had the Greeks build a large wooden horse, in which they concealed a hundred brave heroes. Then Sinon, deserting to the Trojans, persuaded them to bring the horse into the city, pretending that, if offered to Athena, it would give them dominion over the Greeks. In the night, after the horse had been dragged within the walls, the heroes left their hiding-place and opened the city gates to their friends outside. The Greeks then burned and sacked the city; they killed the men and took captive the women and children.

¹ § 53

65. The Return from Troy.—The destruction of Troy did not end the woes of the Greeks. On their homeward way they met with many hardships, some even with death. Odysseus wandered far and wide. Driven hither and thither over the sea by angry Poseidon, he saw many interesting countries and peoples, he underwent severe toils and met with strange adventures. Reaching home at last, he slew the company of nobles, who, while suing for the hand of his faithful wife Pe-nel'o-pe, had long been living at his house and wasting his property.

66. Character and Influence of Myth and Religion.—Greek myth and religion in their earliest form had to do with many horrible monsters and gods of terror, such as we find among the Orientals. But in time the ideas of the Greeks on these subjects were refined and purified. The monsters were all slain or thrust into the background of the imagination, and the gods were gradually shorn of their terrors. The supernatural beings became as a rule beautiful in form and endowed with a kindly spirit—fit subjects for worship and an inspiration to art. Sacrifice was regarded, not as a gift to appease the anger of the gods, but as a meal in which the deity took part with his worshippers. The basis of the relationship between gods and men was no longer fear, but fellowship. This fact goes far toward accounting for the fearlessness of the Greeks in working out the problems of society, government, art, and science.

CHAPTER VI

THE CITY-STATE AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

67. The Family and the Gens.—The Greek family, unlike the Oriental, was monogamic. The complete household consisted of father, mother, children, and slaves. The family was not only a social but also a religious institution. In Attica it was under the care of Zeus and Apollo. In this connection Apollo is spoken of as “ancestral”, in the belief that he was the common ancestor of all the Athenians.

Family life will be described in another chapter;¹ for the present we need to notice only its general character and its relation to the state. When the sons grew up, they married and founded new families, as among us; and as in the modern world, the families which had sprung from a common ancestor often lost all connection with one another. Sometimes, however, they kept up relations. In that case the descendants of a common ancestor organized themselves into an association called a *gens*,² with officers, common property, and treasury. Each gens had also one or more gods to whom offerings were made on fixed festival days. At such a time the members held a religious and social reunion. The nobles laid greatest stress on descent and were in a better position to keep up relationships. Hence the gentes were mostly limited to them.

68. The Phratry and the Tribe.—Several families (not gentes) united to form a *phratry*—“brotherhood”. As the word itself indicates, the members considered themselves related in blood. Many were in fact kinsmen, though some strangers were admitted to the association. Like the gens, therefore, the phratry resembled a large family. It had officers, common property, and periodical reunions of the members for social intercourse and for the worship of Zeus and Athena, the phratric deities. Unlike the gens, however, the phratry was polit-

¹ Ch. xiv, iii

² Greek form *gen'os*, plural *gen'ê*

ical is well as social and religious. All citizens, both men and women, had to belong to these societies. When the state admitted new citizens, it assigned them to various phratries, which thereupon accepted them by an act somewhat like that of adoption. The chief political duty of the phratry was to watch over the citizenship in order to keep it untainted by alien blood and religious impurity. It admitted children, both girls and boys, after a strict inquiry as to the legality of their birth; for any irregularity, especially in the marriage of the parents, corrupted the citizen blood. On membership in the phratry depended all the civil and political rights of the citizens. In the study of this exclusive association we begin to appreciate the vast difference between the Greek and the modern state.

The tribe was a group of phratries. Doubtless in the far-off beginnings of the race many tribes were formed naturally by the union of kindred phratries, but in the historical age they were created by the state. The government usually divided the country into districts called tribes and assigned to each the phratries of the district. However artificial it might be, the members, accustomed to no other bond but that of blood and religion, came soon to regard one another as kinsmen, and the tribe as an enlarged family. The Ionians and Dorians differed in their systems of tribal organization. The early Ionic states usually had four tribes, and the early Doric three.¹

The tribe was organized like the phratry, though on a larger scale. It was social and religious, too, but in the main political. Each tribe furnished a regiment for the army, and each bore its proportional share of the taxes and other public burdens.

69. The City-State.—From what has thus far been said, it is evident that the state comprised several tribes, which were subdivided into phratries and families. The ties which bound the members of the several groups together were not, as with us, territory and neighbourhood, except in the slightest degree, but religion and blood. The same is true of the state. We cannot understand the Greeks without a clear conception of the difference between their state and ours. A modern state is a country

¹ No tribes have thus far been found in the Aeolian states.

whose inhabitants, excepting a few transients, are fellow-citizens under one government. The Greek state, on the other hand, was an exclusively religious society of kinsmen who possessed a definite territory. We should rather compare it in one respect to a family, in another to a church. By residence through any number of centuries an alien family could not acquire a right to the citizenship.

The state was not only a large family and religious society; it was also essentially a city. To the eye it seemed (1) a group of dwellings, shops, and offices, like a modern city, though usually protected by a wall, and (2) a little surrounding country dotted over with farm buildings and villages. But the essential fact in the case is that there was not, as with us, a government for the country and another for the city; rather, there was merely a city government, which extended as well over the whole area of the state. For this reason we call the Greek state a city-state, to distinguish it from the country states of modern times. As an illustration we may take Attica and Athens. Geographically Attica was a country in which the city of Athens was situated. Politically Athens was a state which included all Attica. All the inhabitants of Attica who enjoyed political rights in the country were Athenians.

70. Influence of the City-State on History.—All the citizens were thought to be kinsmen, the descendants of some god. For example, the Athenians were all children of Apollo. The people of each city considered it impious to admit strangers to their brotherhoods, their religious festivals, and their state, as the god loved only his citizens and looked upon all others as intruders. Besides lesser deities and the divine ancestor, each state had some great patron god, who, too, disliked strangers. Largely because of these religious ideas, the city-states were extremely illiberal in bestowing the citizenship, and were unwilling to combine in greater political units. Hence Greek history has to do, not with empires like the Oriental, but with a multitude of little city-states. Some covered but a few square miles; Athens, one of the largest, no more than a thousand. This very smallness, however, combined with the motives of

blood and religion to produce a devotion to country and an energy of thought and action which we find nowhere else in history. In brief, the city-states, in keenest rivalry with one another and favourably influenced by physical surroundings, created the Greek civilization—the most brilliant in the world's history. The decline of the city-states brought with it a decline in that civilization.

71. Important City-States about 700 B.C.—At the close of the epic age and the beginning of a new era, about 700 B.C., there were already hundreds of city-states in Hellas. A few of the more thriving, incidentally mentioned in the preceding pages, are grouped together here by way of summary. The earlier centres of culture, Cnossus, Tiryns, and Mycenae, had declined. Miletus now took the lead in civilization, but had little political importance. Corinth was a great commercial and industrial centre and was soon to gain political power under a line of able rulers.¹ Thebes was the head of the Boeotian League, and as such was important. Argos was attempting to subdue the other cities of Argolis, so as to convert that country into one great state. In the course of two centuries she succeeded in this undertaking. Athens included all Attica, and Sparta ruled supreme over Laconia. The last two were the greatest states in Hellas. From our point of view, however, they were very small—about equal in area to our counties.

72. Political Evolution of the City-State.—The earliest form of government of the city-state was monarchy, such as existed in the Homeric Age. The powers of government were in the hands of the king, the council of nobles, and the assembly of freemen.² In some of the Greek states the council, growing strong, made itself supreme in place of the king. It did not abolish the office, but degraded it to a mere priesthood. The rule of a council of nobles is called an aristocracy—a “government of the best”.³ New offices were created to attend to new duties of government as they arose, and sometimes the free-

¹ § 95

§ 50

³ A good example of an aristocracy is Athens immediately after the overthrow of the kingship; § 100.

men continued to meet in assembly; but all were subordinate to the council.

Generally the aristocracies became oppressive; the masses, therefore, began to show great discontent. To strengthen themselves against the commons, the aristocrats sometimes admitted certain wealthy families to a share in the privileges. When wealth was substituted for birth as the qualification for political rights, the government became an oligarchy—"rule of the few", of any number less than the whole citizen body.¹ Sometimes it was agreed that political rights should be graded according to amount of property determined by a census. In that case the government was called a *ti-moc'ra-cy*.² Either a timocracy or some simpler form of oligarchy might develop from an aristocracy.

These changes did little to improve the condition of the masses or to quiet their discontent, which in fact grew continually more bitter. In these circumstances it often happened that a noble, beaten in some political conflict with his fellows, appealed to the commons, promising economic or political improvements in exchange for their support. With their help he would then usurp the government and rule by force. An unconstitutional rule of the kind was called by the Greeks a tyranny. The word did not originally signify a harsh or oppressive rule; in fact, many were the very opposite; but it came to have that meaning as the character of the tyrants deteriorated. Usurpations were common under all the forms of government which followed the kingship.³

Generally the tyrant improved the condition of the commons and lessened the power of the nobles; he reduced the people more nearly to an equality. As a rule the usurper was himself a wise and able statesman. His son, and still more his grand-

¹ As far as the meaning of the word oligarchy is concerned, it might include the aristocracy; but the Greeks drew the distinction mentioned above, and it is a convenient one to use. Necessarily it included the timocracy.

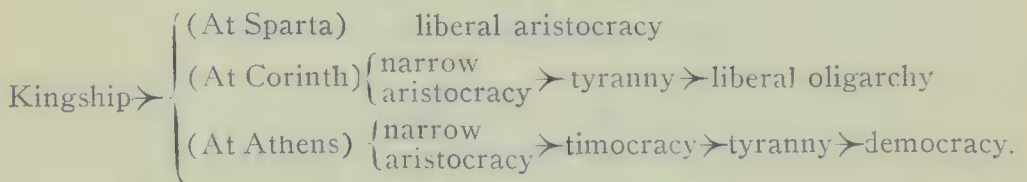
² About 650 B.C. the aristocracy at Athens was changed to a timocracy; § 101.

³ Some writers on Greek history speak of an "Age of Tyrants". It is true that in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. there were many, and that in the fifth century, when Sparta and Athens controlled a great part of Hellas, there were fewer. But from the fourth century to the end of Greek independence they flourished in all parts of Hellas in greater numbers than ever before. The expression Age of Tyrants is, therefore, misleading. Tyrannies worthy of study were those at Corinth (§ 95), Athens (§§ 112-114), and Syracuse (§§ 157, 225-228).

son, who inherited the power, in nearly every case became a tyrant in the modern sense. When this condition came about, the people put down the tyrant and established either a democracy or a liberal oligarchy.¹

These are general lines along which the city-states developed. Some went through the entire cycle from kingship to democracy; others advanced part way; still others remained monarchical to the end. The diversity of government among the Greeks is wonderful; they were as inventive in this field as in science and art.

Diagram of the Political Cycle



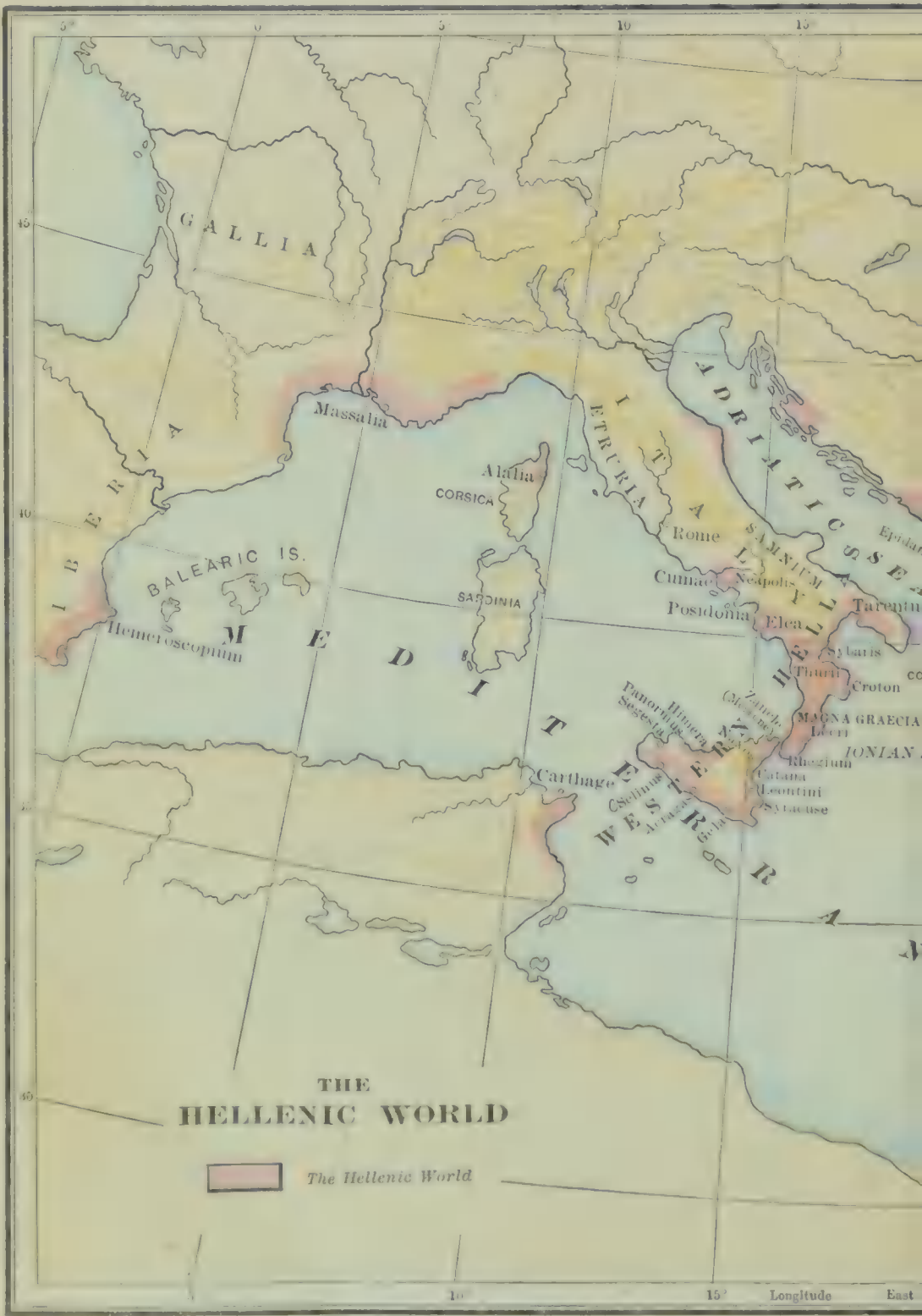
73. Combinations of City-States. — Neighbouring communities, city-states as well as tribes, sometimes united in religious leagues—the amphictyonies described above.² Some of these unions remained religious, others tended to become political as well. Boeotia is an instance of this political development. In time arose leagues which were purely political, like that headed by Sparta in Peloponnese.³ Toward the end of Greek history the federal unions—a form of the political league—came into great prominence.⁴

¹ Athens offers a good example of the change from tyranny to democracy (§§ 115 ff.); Corinth, of the change to a liberal oligarchy (§ 95). It should not be thought that every tyranny affected the government in these ways. The text merely states the rule, to which there were exceptions.

² § 55

³ § 96

⁴ §§ 283-287





CHAPTER VII

THE SECOND PERIOD OF COLONIAL EXPANSION

ABOUT 750-550 B.C.

74. Motives to Colonization.—In an earlier chapter¹ we studied the expansion of the Greeks over the islands and the east coast of the Aegean Sea. This movement, described as the first period of colonization, was somewhat like a migration. It followed no definite plan; and the motives, as far as we can discover them, were the pressure of new invaders in Greece and land hunger. The period coincided with the Mycenaean Age.

Afterward expansion came nearly to a standstill, to recommence about the middle of the eighth century B.C. From that point it continued for about two hundred years.

In the second period of expansion the first motive to be considered was over-population. This cause was especially active in Achaea and Locris. Here people depended wholly on agriculture and grazing. As the poor soil could not support many in these occupations, and as the population was growing dense, the surplus flowed off in colonies. The same motive was present in the industrial centres; and a new one was added—the desire to found stations for trade in foreign countries. This cause was active in Chalcis, Corinth, Megara, and Miletus—all centres of trade and manufacturing.

A third motive was political unrest. In the more progressive parts of Greece the monarchies had given way to aristocracies and oligarchies (§ 72). The states were often afflicted by internal strife, and the governments were usually harsh and burdensome. Many who felt oppressed and many who were expelled by hostile factions sought new homes in distant lands. Not the least powerful motive was the love of adventure and

¹ Ch. iv, §§ 43-45

the longing to see the world, often combined with the fortune-hunting spirit.

75. Organization of a Colony.—When a city planned to send out a colony, it was customary first to ask the advice and consent of Apollo at Delphi. Having obtained his approval, it appointed some noble as “founder”, who was to lead the enterprise, to distribute the lands among the settlers, and to arrange the government. Generally the mother city permitted any who wished from neighbouring communities to join the expedition. The founder assigned each man his place in the new state and established a government and religion like those of the mother city. In this connection it is well to notice that every Greek city had in its town hall a sacred hearth on which it always kept fire burning. This hearth was the religious centre of the community, an altar on which the divine founder and ancestor received his sacrifices. It was customary for colonists to carry with them sacred fire from the hearth of the mother city, with which to kindle the public hearth of the new settlement, that the religious life of the old community might continue uninterrupted in the new, and that those who went forth to found homes in a strange country might not for a moment be deprived of divine protection.

76. Relation of the Colony to the Mother City.—A mother city preferred, when possible, to keep political control of her colonies. But conditions generally prevented. Colonists, like other Greeks, loved complete independence for their cities and would not rest satisfied with any other condition. Usually, too, the colonies were distant, communication with the mother city was slow, and all these circumstances combined to render control impossible. Hence, as a rule, the colony was politically independent. But it remained in close religious and social union with the mother-land. The two states usually traded with each other. They often joined in planting other colonies, and in time of danger they gave mutual assistance. This moral bond was rarely broken.

77. Colonies in Italy and Sicily.—Italy is farther than Asia Minor from the Greek peninsula, and the Ionian Sea is not,

like the Aegean, filled with islands; yet the Greeks from the Epirot coast could look in clear weather across the narrowest part of the sea to the shore of Italy. There they found a far more fertile soil than they had known in their own homes. Our review of the settlements here will be geographical rather than chronological.

Lower Italy may be compared in form to a boot. In the heel next to the instep is an excellent harbour, on which grew up the great city of Ta-ren'tum. Because of the favourable situation, it became renowned for commerce, wealth, and refinement. It was especially influential, too, in giving Greek civilization to the natives of the peninsula. Following the coast-line round the instep, we come to Syb'a-ris, noted for her wealth and luxury. The word Sybarite is still used to designate an excessively luxurious person. Farther south was Cro'ton, the home of famous athletes and physicians. Both cities were Achæan. After they had shown the utmost good feeling toward each other for many years, they engaged in deadly strife, in which Sybaris was blotted out of existence (510 B.C.). Locri, farther to the south-west, received its name from Locris, the mother-country. This city was renowned for her excellent government. She was the first of all Indo-Europeans to have a written collection of laws.¹ Passing round the toe of the peninsula, we come to Rhe'gi-um, then far north, to Cu'mae near the Bay of Naples. The importance of Cumae lies in this fact, that from her the Romans derived the alphabet and other rudiments of culture. Afterward Naples grew up on the bay of the same name. Cumae, Naples, Rhegium, and some other colonies on the west coast were Chalcidic—founded by Chalcis, Euboea.

In Sicily the same city founded Mes-se'ne² on the strait opposite Rhegium and several other settlements on the east and north coasts. The most important city in Sicily was Syracuse on the eastern coast. In time it became the largest city in

¹ The Babylonians had a code more than twelve centuries earlier. The Romans did not have one till about two centuries later (§ 332).

² Originally called Zan'cle, it was renamed Messenê after being reinforced, many years later, by a colony from Messenia (§ 93).

Greece. Its "Great Harbour" could shelter the navies of the world. Next in population and wealth was Ac'ra-gas (Latin Ag-ri-gen'tum). The founders built their city on a hill two miles from the sea, and adorned it with temples, colonnades, and beautiful dwellings, while all about it they planted vineyards and olive orchards. On account of its brilliancy and beauty, Pindar, the poet, calls it "the eye of Sicily". Tarentum, Syracuse, and Acragas were Dorian colonies.

78. Results of Colonization in the West.—Because of its wonderful fertility, Sicily soon excelled the mother-country in wealth. Its cities were mostly on the coast, and for this reason Pindar calls them "a gorgeous crown of citadels"; they nearly surrounded the island. The Greeks were prevented from completing the circuit of colonies by Phoenicians,¹ who occupied the west end of Sicily.

The colonization of the West began as early as 750 B.C., and continued about two hundred years. The territory occupied by the Greeks in Italy is called by the Latin name Mag'na Grae'ci-a ("Great Hellas"); while the term "Western Hellas" includes their settlements in both Italy and Sicily. Western Hellas was related to the mother-country somewhat as America is now to Europe. It remained politically distinct, but always kept in the closest commercial and intellectual contact. In two respects the western Greeks are important in the history of civilization: (1) They made great contributions to science and the arts, (2) they were the source from which the natives of the West, including the Romans, drew the larger part of their culture.

79. Colonies in Chalcidice.—While the Greeks were planting colonies in Italy and Sicily, they were busy extending their settlements within the Aegean area. On the north-west coast of the Aegean they found a broad peninsula with three arms reaching far into the sea. It is so rugged and has so long a coast-line that the Greeks who went there to live found it very homelike. Men swarmed to that region to work the copper, silver, and gold mines, and to cut timber for ship-building, and as most of them came from Chalcis, they named their new

home Chal-cid'i-ce. Pot-i-dae'a, a Corinthian colony, however, became the chief commercial city of the region. In the interior near Chalcidice lived the Macedonians, who spoke a Greek dialect, and were in fact Greeks. But on account of their situation they had made little progress in civilization. It was chiefly from the colonies near them that they slowly¹ adopted the improvements in life and the advanced ideas of the more cultured Hellenes. The colonists in this region, accordingly, did for them what the Greeks in the West did for the Romans.

80. Colonies on the Hellespont, the Propontis, and the Black Sea.—While some of the Greeks were working the mines of Chalcidice, others were sailing into the Hel'les-pont to fish and to found settlements along its shores. Others, passing through the Hellespont, explored the coasts of the Pro-pon'tis. Propontis is the water "in front of" the Pontus, that is, of the Black Sea. Of all the settlements in this region the most important was By-zan'ti-um, founded by the little city of Megara. This colony was on the Propontis, at the entrance to the strait of Bos'po-rus. Situated on a magnificent harbour, it engaged extensively in trade. Nearly a thousand years after its founding, it became, under the name of Constantinople, the capital of the Roman empire.

The Greeks pushed on through the Bosphorus to explore and settle the coasts of the Black Sea. This water they called simply Pontus—"the Sea", or more commonly Euxine—"the Hospitable". In time a chain of colonies stretched almost continuously around the sea. Miletus alone is said to have founded more than eighty in this region. The great attraction lay in the rich natural resources. Colchis yielded gold; the southern coast, silver, copper, iron, and timber; the northern coast, cattle, hides, and grain; the sea itself, fish. From the natives slaves were obtained by purchase and kidnapping. The country about this sea, accordingly, supplied the populous districts of Greece with labourers, food, the precious metals, and raw materials for manufacturing. It had little part in the intel-

¹ Till the fourth century B.C. their condition remained like that of the "Homeric" Greeks (§§ 47-50).

lectual life of Hellas, and its civilizing influence did not reach far from the shores.

81. The More Distant Colonies.—The colonies thus far mentioned extended from Greece in different directions almost as continuously as the intervening waters would allow. Other settlements were made on the remotest shores of the Mediterranean. The later Pharaohs had permitted the Greeks to found a colony at one of the mouths of the Nile. This colony was Nau'cra-tis. In it all the great commercial cities of Greece had their warehouses, chartered by the Egyptian government. The kings of the land sent youths to Naucratis to learn the Hellenic tongue and began to form alliances with the Greek states. Many Greeks who were eager for knowledge and had the leisure and the means of travelling visited Egypt as well as Babylonia, to see the strange old country and learn wisdom from its priests. They brought home a few valuable facts about surveying, the movements of the stars, and the recording of events; and with the help of this little treasure of truths their own inventive minds worked out the first real science.

In the opposite direction, the Phocaeans of Ionia rowed their fifty-oared galleys to the southern coast of Gaul, where they founded Mas-sa'li-a¹ on an excellent harbour. From this colony as a centre they established trading stations in the interior as well as along the coast; by means of these settlements they extended their traffic over the whole of Gaul and as far as Britain and the Baltic Sea. In Spain the Greeks founded fewer settlements, owing to its distance as well as to the opposition of the Phoenicians, who were already taking possession of this peninsula.

82. The Extent of Hellas.—During this period of colonization the Greeks spread their settlements over a large part of the known ancient world, as the western Europeans have made their home in every part of the modern world. The Greeks were then all that western Europeans now are—representatives and teachers of the highest existing civilization, carrying their culture everywhere, and everywhere gaining the advantage

¹ The present Marseilles

over others by means of their own superior vitality and intelligence. Hellas included all their settlements on the shores of the Mediterranean and its tributaries, from Egypt to the "Pillars of Heracles"—Strait of Gi-bral'tar—and from south Russia to the African desert. They were not united under a single government, but were one in blood, one in speech and manners, one in religion.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RISE OF SPARTA AND THE PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUE

ABOUT 750-500 B.C.

83. Sparta and Laconia.—Laconia, a country in Peloponnese, has already been briefly described.¹ It is bounded on the north by the Arcadian highland and on the east and west by lofty parallel ranges. The whole country is the basin of the Eurotas River. It was one of the most fertile parts of Greece, and in the mountain range² on the west were rich iron mines. Naturally the principal occupations were farming and the manufacture of iron wares.

Sparta, the city of Laconia, was situated on the right bank of the Eurotas. In contrast with the usual Greek city, placed on a hilltop and strongly fortified, it was a mere group of villages without walls and on only a slight elevation. The reason for this peculiarity will be made clear below.³

Originally there had been several city-states in Laconia; but Sparta by conquest had reduced the others to submission and had become the sole independent city. In the case of Sparta alone, it is necessary to distinguish between the city and the state. Sparta was simply the city, whereas the name of the state was Lac-e-dae'mon. The members of the state—Lacedaemonians—comprised both the Spartans and the dependent population.

84. The Social Classes: the Helots.—There were but few slaves in Laconia. Most of the labourers were helots, or state serfs. Some were reduced to this condition by the Spartan conquest; others doubtless were once free peasants, whom oppression forced into serfdom. The helots tilled the fields of the Spartans, paying them fixed amounts of grain, wine, oil,

¹ § 29

² The Taygetus range; § 22

³ § 89

and fruit. They served in war as light-armed troops, and some were given their freedom for bravery and faithfulness. They lived with their families on the farms they worked, or grouped together in villages. Their lords had no right to free them or to sell them beyond the borders of the country; and under favourable conditions they could even acquire property of their own. Still their condition was hard, for the more intelligent they were, the more the Spartans dreaded and oppressed them. The rulers organized a secret police force of youths, which was to watch over the helots and put out of the way any one who might be regarded as dangerous to the community.

85. The Perioeci.—The per-i-oe'ci were between the helots and Spartans in rank. They inhabited the towns of Laconia and Messenia, and at first enjoyed independence in all local matters; but as time went on Sparta encroached on their liberties by sending out officers to rule over them. They paid war taxes and served as heavy-armed troops in the Lacedaemonian army. As the land left them by the conquerors was the poorest in the country, many of them made their living by skilled industry and trade. While the Spartans themselves could use only iron money, the perioeci were not thus hampered in their business. On the whole, they could not have been badly treated, for they remained loyal to Sparta for centuries. Spartans, perioeci, and helots were alike Dorians, as far as we know; no difference of race has been discovered, and we are not certain why the Spartans treated some of the conquered as serfs and left others free; but perhaps the perioeci were the inhabitants of communities which were strong enough to make good terms with their conquerors.

86. The Spartans; the Training of their Boys.—The Spartans were the inhabitants of the city of Sparta. They were too proud and too exclusive to share their citizenship with the conquered in Laconia and Messenia; and as they were themselves never more than eight or nine thousand of military age, while their subjects were many times as numerous, they could maintain their rule only by making of themselves a standing army and by keeping up a constant military training. Every Spartan

must have a sound body to begin with. The father brought his boy soon after birth to the elders of his tribe; and if they found him puny and ill-shaped, they ordered him to be exposed to death in a chasm of the mountains near by; but if they judged the boy strong and healthy, they allowed him to live. To his seventh year the Spartan boy was in the care of his mother; then the state took charge of his education and placed him in a company of lads under a trainer. From the age of twelve he had to gather reeds for his own bed from the banks of the Eurotas and must learn to live without underclothing and to go barefoot winter and summer. Every year the boys had to give a test of their endurance by submitting to a whipping before the altar of the goddess Artemis, and he was the hero who could endure the flogging longest. Boys, youths, and young men were organized in troops and companies, and exercised in marching, sham-fighting, and gymnastics. They were taught to hunt and to be nimble and cunning, but their only mental culture was in music and poetry. The whole object of their education was to make brave, strong, and well-disciplined soldiers. The girls passed through a training like that of the youths, though less severe. They, too, practised running, leaping, and throwing the spear and discus. The state encouraged them to such exercise, as it considered the gymnastic education of women necessary to the physical perfection of the race.

87. Young Men.—At the age of twenty the Spartan youth became a young man, and as he was now liable to military service in the field, he joined a “mess”, or brotherhood of about fifteen comrades each, who ate together in war and in peace. The members of the mess to which he applied voted on his admission with bread crumbs, “throwing them into a basin carried by the waiter around the table; those who liked the young man dropped their ball into the basin without changing its figure, and if any one disliked him, he pressed the crumb flat between his fingers and thus gave his negative vote. And if there was but one of these flattened pieces in the basin, the candidate was rejected, so desirous were they that all the mem-

bers of the company should be agreeable to one another".¹ Each member had to furnish his monthly share of barley meal, wine, cheese, figs, and money for meat and dainties, also a part of whatever game he got by hunting. The "black broth" was the national Spartan dish, relished by the elderly men, though the young men preferred meat. Thus their fare was simple but efficient; and no one could say that they were spoiled for war by being overfed. Membership of these associations continued through life.

88. Mature Men and Women.—At thirty the Spartan became a mature man and could now attend the assembly, but he did not cease from military service and training till his sixtieth year. Though compelled by law to marry, he could have no home and could not even claim his family as his own. All the older Spartans regarded the younger as their children, and the young were taught to obey and respect any of the citizens as much as their own fathers. But while the Spartan ate in the barracks with his fellow-soldiers and passed his time in military exercises, his wife lived in comfort and luxury. Aristotle² says that Lycurgus, after subjecting the men to discipline, tried to make the women orderly, but failed, and permitted them therefore to live as they pleased. As they could inherit and acquire property in Laconia, and as men were not permitted to engage in business, it resulted in time that two-fifths of the land in the state came into the hands of the women.

89. The Army.—In the Mycenaean and Homeric Ages the nobles alone could afford heavy armour and good weapons. The masses, grouped in tribes and phratries, were miserably equipped and altogether without training. On the battle-field one noble was worth a hundred commoners. This is the chief reason why the nobles despised the common men and gave them few political rights.

Even in the Homeric Age, however, we find some attempt to keep the masses of fighters in an even line. But the great innovators in this direction were the Spartans. Two causes of the

¹ Plutarch, *Lycurgus*

² A Greek philosopher who wrote much on the government of Greek cities; § 273.

improvement here mentioned may be traced to the country itself: (1) In the broad fertile plain were more land-owners than elsewhere who were wealthy enough to equip themselves with the full armour; (2) the mines of Laconia furnished abundant iron for swords and spear points, the defensive

armour being mostly bronze. We must not lose sight of the fact, however, that the principal cause was the intelligence which made use of these resources. The army organized on this new plan was a *pha'lanx*—a line of warriors equipped with strong defensive armour and long spears,¹ which moved as a unit to the sound of music. The line was several ranks deep. This system made Lacedaemon the strongest military power in the world. It rendered the fortification of Sparta unnecessary, and had, besides, an important effect on the form of government.



A WARRIOR IN HELMET,
COAT OF MAIL, AND
GREAVES

(Bronze statuette, sixth century B.C.; British Museum)

90. The Government.—It has already been stated that the towns of the perioeci managed their local affairs with more or less interference from Sparta. In this respect they were like our municipalities, though less independent. The government of the city of Sparta, on the other hand, conducted by the Spartans exclusively, supervised these town governments and attended to all the affairs of

the state as a whole. Originally the government was like that described by Homer, excepting that there were two kings² in place of one.

¹ The armour consisted of a large shield, somewhat like the Mycenaean, which covered the entire body, a helmet, and greaves. In time they substituted a smaller round buckler and a coat of mail in place of the heavy man-covering shield. Besides the spear they carried a sword.

Continual quarrelling between the two kings weakened the office. Thereupon the government fell into the hands, not of the council, as in most Greek states, but of the assembly of freemen. The reason is to be found in the adoption of the phalanx. Everywhere in Hellas the men who made up the effective military force were the controlling political power. The government of Lacedaemon became, accordingly, a military aristocracy, as the Spartan freemen were all nobles, ruling over a subject population. The assembly did not exercise the powers of government directly, however, but intrusted them to a board of five ephors, or overseers, elected annually. In time the ephors placed themselves at the head of the state, whereas the kings came to be hardly more than priests and generals. Among the Spartans were some especially noble families, who were represented in the council by twenty-eight elders and the two kings. The council lost influence along with the kings.

Outline of the Aristocratic Constitution

I. Magistrates

1. Five ephors, elected annually—the chief executives
2. Two kings, hereditary and lifelong, from the two royal families; priests and generals; judges in a few minor cases.

II. Council

1. Composed of twenty-eight elders sixty years of age or above, and the two kings, representing the noble families
2. Functions

{	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <i>a.</i> Deliberation on measures to be presented to the assembly <i>b.</i> Trial of criminal cases.
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III. Assembly

1. Composed of Spartans in good standing
2. Functions

{	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <i>a.</i> Election of magistrates and councillors <i>b.</i> Voting on measures presented by the council.
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91. The Myth of Lycurgus.—The Spartans of later time tried in the usual Greek way¹ to account for the origin of their institutions by ascribing them all to one man, Lycurgus. In their belief he was regent in place of a young king, his nephew. Finding the state full of violence, he went to Crete and brought home from there a whole body of customs and laws for his country. By compelling the citizens to obey the new laws, he

made them the most orderly people in the world. This story was current at Sparta. Other Greeks, wishing to give Apollo the credit, used to say that Lycurgus went to Delphi and got his laws through the oracle. After his death, continues the story, the Lacedaemonians built him a temple, where they worshipped him with the utmost reverence.

It is true that the Spartans had a god named Lycurgus; but, as the early Greeks did not deify their great men, this god could not have been once a human legislator. The similarity between the Spartan and Cretan laws points to a borrowing in one direction or the other. But the great objection to the story is that earlier writers who touch on Lacedaemonian affairs utterly ignore Lycurgus and ascribe the constitution to this or that other person. In fact, the system of the Spartans was due largely to their surroundings, as has been pointed out. There may indeed have lived a man of the same name as the god Lycurgus, and he may have perfected and enforced the system; but of his achievements or even of his existence we have no positive knowledge.

92. The First Messenian War. (about 725 B.C.).—After the Spartans had subdued all Laconia, a desire “to plough and plant fertile Messenia” led them to the conquest of that country. In fact, they needed more land and helots to support the increasing number of their warrior citizens. After twenty years of hard fighting, they drove the Messenians from the stronghold of Mount Ithome and annexed the eastern part of the country. Many Messenians fled across the borders. Those who remained became helots and had to till for the Spartans the fields which had once been their own. “Like asses worn with heavy burdens they brought to their lords, under hard necessity, the half of all the earth produced.”¹

93. The Second Messenian War (about 650 B.C.).—Two or three generations later the Messenians rose in rebellion. With the help of allies from Argos, Arcadia, and elsewhere, they utterly routed the Lacedaemonian army. In despair the Spar-

¹ From Tyrtaeus; see next section. There is much legend regarding the war; but the facts given above are about all we know.

tans talked of giving up the struggle, but were inspired to a new effort by Tyr-tae'us. He was a martial poet, a general, and a statesman. We have a quotation from one of his "charging songs", which the warriors sang as they went to battle:

To the front, O sons of Sparta,
Rich in men, of freeborn fathers;
With your left hand press your shield forth,
Hurl your lance with daring spirit,
Sparing not your life in battle,
For 'tis not the rule at Sparta.¹

Receiving the command, Tyrtaeus won a decisive victory. The survivors fled to the Arcadian mountains, whence for many years they raided the farms of Laconia. The Spartans who suffered loss clamoured for a redistribution of property; but Tyrtaeus, in a poem entitled "Good Order", quieted the discontent. The war ended in the complete subjugation of Messenia. Again many escaped into foreign lands. Some found new homes in Sicily at Messene, a Chalcidic colony. From the new-comers the city and neighbouring strait derived their name. The masses of the conquered became helots. For about three centuries Messenia remained a part of Lacedaemon.

94. League with the Arcadians.—Next the Lacedaemonian rulers asked of Apollo at Delphi permission to conquer all Arcadia, but the prophetess answered:

The land of Arcadia thou askest: thou askest too much; I refuse it:
Many there are in Arcadian land, stout men eating acorns;
They will prevent thee from this: but I am not grudging toward thee;
Te'ge-a beaten with sounding feet I will give thee to dance in,
And a fair plain will I give thee to measure with line and divide it.

Tegea, however, made the oracle true by defeating the Lacedaemonians and compelling the prisoners to divide her plain among themselves with a measuring line and till it in fetters.² But somewhat later the Tegeans entered into a league with Sparta and agreed to follow her lead in war. Their example was imitated by the other Arcadians, who proved a source of great military strength to Sparta, for they were strong, brave

¹ Fowler, *Greek Literature*, 66

² This is an example of a double-meaning prophecy (§ 54).

men, as mountaineers usually are, and made excellent warriors, second only to the Spartans themselves.

95. Tyranny at Corinth (655–582 B.C.).—Corinth was the most important state of Peloponnese which entered into permanent alliance with Lacedaemon, and for that reason its previous history is given here. The king had been succeeded by a small body of aristocrats, who in time grew illiberal and insolent. Thereupon Cyp'se-lus, a man of the common people, put them down and made himself tyrant. Though usurpers generally found it necessary to surround themselves with a band of soldiers enlisted from other states, Cypselus was so beloved by a majority of his subjects that he ruled for thirty years without a guard. His son Per-i-an'der, who succeeded him, was compelled to use harsh measures against the nobles who opposed him, and laid heavy taxes on the wealthy. But he used the revenues in beautifying his city and in increasing its power and influence throughout Greece. These tyrants founded many colonies. Cor-cy'ra, an island off the west coast of Greece, had been settled from Corinth long before, but had gained its independence. The tyrants reduced the island temporarily to obedience, and planted in the neighbourhood a group of colonies, which remained faithful to the mother city. The same rulers were liberal patrons of religion, especially the religion of the peasants; and their gifts to the gods at Olympia¹ were reckoned among the wonders of the world. On the downfall of the family, Corinth became a well-regulated oligarchy.²

96. The Peloponnesian League.—It was under this form of government that Corinth became an ally of Lacedaemon (about 580 B.C.). Elis had already joined the alliance, and Sicyon (Sish'i-on) followed some years later. All these states were brought into the League by their wealthy men on the assurance that they should have control of their several governments. And in general Sparta desired that her allies should be governed by oligarchies;³ because she knew that oligarchs would be more loyal to her than either tyrants or democrats.

The Peloponnesian League, which Sparta was thus forming,

¹ § 56

² § 72

³ § 72

had no common federal constitution, but each community had its own treaty with Lacedaemon. Deputies from the allied states met in congress at Sparta or Corinth to settle questions of war and peace; and the states furnished troops to serve in war under the Lacedaemonian kings. They did not pay tribute to Sparta, but divided among themselves the expenses of the League, which were always light. Thus the states enjoyed independence and at the same time the advantages of union.



97. Sparta and Argos.—By the middle of the sixth century B.C. the League, under the leadership of Sparta, had come to include all Peloponnesians excepting Achaea and Argolis. About 550 B.C. the crisis came in a struggle between Sparta and Argos for the possession of Cy-nu'ri-a, a strip of land held by the latter state along the coast east of Mount Parnon. Three hundred champions for each state were to decide the contest; but after a day's fighting, only two Argives and one Spartan remained alive. Then a dispute as to which side had won the victory ended in a bloody battle, in which the Lacedaemonians were masters. This success gave them Cynuria and the island of Cy-the'ra and made them the foremost power among the states of Greece.

CHAPTER IX

ATHENS: FROM MONARCHY TO DEMOCRACY

FROM THE MYCENAEAN AGE TO ABOUT 500 B.C.

I. THE KINGSHIP

98. Attica and Athens.—In our study of the geography of Greece we noticed that Attica was a peninsula with an unusually long coast-line, that the country was made up of mountains and little plains, and that the soil was stony and unproductive.¹ All these features had a bearing on the history of the country. In the midst of the largest plain, about four miles from the coast, rises a group of hills. On and about the central height, known as the Acropolis² ("citadel"), stood the city of Athens.

In the Mycenaean and Epic Ages—about 1500–700 B.C.—Athens was but one of several independent cities in Attica; but before the opening of the seventh century the whole country had been brought within the limits of the city-state of Athens.

We are better acquainted with the early history of Athens than of any other Greek state, and can therefore trace its progress with greater certainty. This is one reason why we study the early period. We are led to this subject, too, by the fame which the state afterward won. During the period covered by this chapter Athens lagged behind Miletus³ and some other Greek cities in civilization. Soon afterward she outstripped all the rest and became the foremost city of the world in intelligence, in literature, and in art. Hellenic history centres, therefore, in Athens.

99. The Kingship (to about 750 B.C.).—The chapter on the myths gave an account of Theseus and other legendary kings.⁴ It remains to speak of the closing years of the regal period.

¹ § 21

62, n. 2

§§ 44, 71

⁴ § 62

The last royal family, the Me-don'ti-dae, claimed descent from King Co'drus ("The Glorious"). There is a myth that in his reign the Dorians invaded Attica. Word came to him from Apollo at Delphi that the army whose leader should be killed by the enemy would be victorious in the war. Thereupon he dressed himself like a peasant, and going into the Dorian camp, intentionally provoked a quarrel and was slain without being known, thus bringing eternal glory to himself and victory to his country. The Athenians, from gratitude for his heroic



AREOPAGUS

South side near east end

(From a photograph)

self-sacrifice, decreed that his son Me'don should reign in his stead; and after Medon, his descendants, the Medontidae, were kings of Athens for many generations. Although Codrus is mythical, no one doubts the existence of the family.

In this period the government was carried on by the king, assisted and limited by a council of nobles and by an assembly of freemen.

In later history the council, in the exercise of some of its duties,¹ sat on the A-re-op'a-gus, a hill just west of the Acro-

¹ § 105

polis. From the place of meeting it came to be named the Council of the Areopagus. This council, like those of other Hellenic states, desired to increase its own power at the expense of the king. About 750 B.C., accordingly, it cut down his office to a period of ten years, whereas his rule had been life-long. While the government remained for a time a kingship in name, this change made it in fact an aristocracy.¹

II. THE ARISTOCRACY AND THE TIMOCRACY

ABOUT 750-594 B.C.

100. The Aristocracy (about 750-650 B.C.).—One power after another was taken from the king and bestowed upon new officers until (about 650 B.C.) there were nine principal magistrates called archons. They were (1) the Archon, who was the chief executive magistrate,² (2) the *pol'em-arch*, who commanded the army, (3) the king, now a mere priest and judge, and (4) the six *thes-moth'e-tae* ("legislators") who recorded the laws, had charge of public documents, and acted as judges in certain civil cases. For a time these officers were selected from the nobles by the Council of the Areopagus.

The Council of the Areopagus, like the council in other cities,³ was originally made up of great nobles. The members held their places for life. All the nobles called themselves *Eu'pa-trids* (Greek *Eu-pat'ri-dae*, "sons of noble fathers"). They alone had the means of equipping themselves with heavy armour. They no longer used chariots,⁴ but rode to war on horseback. Looking down with contempt on the ill-armed commoners, these lordly knights allowed them no share in the government. The assembly of freemen fell into disuse. The nobles in council cared only for the interests of the richer class, supervised the magistrates, and punished immoral as well as lawless citizens. During this period they were the supreme power in the state.

101. The Timocracy (about 650-594 B.C.): the **Phalanx**.—

¹ For an explanation of aristocracy see § 72.

² In this book, when the word archon applies to the head of the board of "nine archons", it will be capitalized.

³ § 72

⁴ § 41

Naturally the common people chafed under this oppressive rule and strove for a share in the government. They were especially favoured by the circumstance that Athens was continually at war with her neighbours. To save their country from conquest the nobles were forced to adopt the phalanx, which the other Hellenic states were borrowing from Sparta.¹ As the nobles were few, it was necessary to enlist in the phalanx all the commoners who could afford a complete equipment.² It chanced that the industries were cheapening armour and that many common families were now well-to-do. A census was taken to determine who were wealthy enough to provide equipments. But no sooner had the wealthier commoners been admitted to the phalanx than they began to meet in assembly and to take part in the government. As political privileges had come to be based on the possession of property, the government was now a timocracy. This change took place about 650 B.C.

102. Constitution of the Timocracy.—Like other Ionic states, Attica was divided into four tribes. Each of these districts was now subdivided into twelve townships,³ making forty-eight in all. The object was to secure better government for all parts of the country and to make every man bear his share of the public burdens.

A Council of Four Hundred and One, newly formed, was filled by lot in such a way as to represent the four tribes and forty-eight townships. It prepared decrees for presentation to the assembly and assisted the magistrates in their duties. Henceforth the Council of the Areopagus was made up of retired archons. Though limited by the other council and by the assembly, it was still the head of the state.

The assembly, now consisting of all who could equip themselves with full armour, began to meet regularly. It elected magistrates and accepted or rejected decrees prepared for it by the Council of Four Hundred and One. At the same time

¹ Compare the effect of the phalanx on the Lacedaemonian government; § 89 f.

² The equipment was about the same as the Spartan; § 89 and n. I.

³ Called naucreries

the wealthy, even though they might not be noble, became eligible to the offices.

With a view to taxation and military service, the citizens were divided into four classes, according to the amount of produce which each citizen derived from his land. These census classes, however, did not become important till the following period.

103. Outline of the Constitution¹

I. Territorial Divisions of Attica

The four tribes and forty-eight townships (*nau'cra-ries*), for the local administration.

II. The Four Census Classes

For determining the public burdens and privileges of the citizens; not known in detail for this period; cf. 109, II.

III. The Principal Magistrates

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 1. The Archon | { | <i>a.</i> Chief executive
<i>b.</i> Judge in cases affecting family rights
<i>c.</i> Head of the board of "nine archons" |
| 2. The King | { | <i>a.</i> A priest
<i>b.</i> Judge in murder cases |
| 3. The Polemarch | { | <i>a.</i> Commander of the army
<i>b.</i> Judge in cases affecting alien residents |
| 4. The six Thesmothetea, "legislators" | { | <i>a.</i> Keepers of the laws and public documents
<i>b.</i> Judges in certain civil cases. |

These nine magistrates sometimes acted as a board under the presidency of the Archon.

IV. The Councils

1. The Council (*Bou-lê*) of the Areopagus
 - a.* Composed of retired archons; membership lifelong
 - b.* As highest authority in the state it supervised the magistrates and the conduct of the citizens
 - c.* As a court it tried wilful murder.
2. The Council (*Boulê*) of Four Hundred and One
 - Representing the tribes and townships
 - a.* Assisted the magistrates in the government
 - b.* Prepared decrees for presentation to the assembly.

V. The Assembly—*Ec-cle'si-a*

1. Composed of all those who could furnish a complete military equipment
2. It elected magistrates and voted on questions brought before it by the Four Hundred and One.

¹ The constitutional matter in fine print may be deferred for review, or omitted altogether, at the discretion of the teacher.

VI. Form of Government

As political rights were graded according to property assessments, the government was a timocracy.

This is an outline of the Athenian constitution. Occasionally parts of it were changed and new features added, but it was never displaced by a new constitution.¹ In brief, Athens had but one constitution.

104. The Conspiracy of Cylon (628 B.C.). — While these changes were taking place, the country was full of confusion and strife. The poor, who were for the most part in slavery to the rich, threatened to rebel against their lords; the shepherds and peasants of the Hills in north Attica hated the wealthier men of the Plain about Athens, just as the highland and lowland Scots used to hate each other; both Plain and Hills were hostile to the traders and fishermen of the Shore; and the contention between these local factions was continually breaking out into civil war. In addition to these troubles, the great families were actually fighting with one another for the possession of the offices, and as the son inherited the feuds of his father, no one could hope for an end of the turmoil. The state was in fact drifting into anarchy.

There was at this time in Attica an ambitious young man named Cylon, who belonged to one of the noblest and most powerful families of the state, and who had greatly distinguished himself by winning a victory in the Olympic games. Taking advantage of the weakness of his country, he planned to usurp the government. With the help of some mercenaries and of a band of friends from the nobility, he seized the Acropolis. But the country people in great numbers put on their armour and besieged him in the citadel. When their provisions were exhausted, Cylon and his brother stole through the besieging lines; their starving followers, forced to surrender, flocked for protection about Athena's altar on the Acropolis. Hereupon the chiefs of the townships² promised these suppliants their lives if they would submit to trial. They agreed; yet, not having full confidence in the promise, they tied a thread to Athena's image, and, holding one end of it,

¹ Two oligarchic usurpations, 411 and 404-403 B.C., need not be taken into account here.

² § 102

went down to the tribunal. But when they came near the shrine of the Furies,¹ the thread by which the goddess gave them her protection broke; and then the Archon Megacles and his followers stoned and butchered them, permitting only a few to escape. Probably a feud between the family of Cylon and that of Megacles led to this impious massacre. The Alcmaeonidae, to whom Megacles belonged, were the mightiest family in Attica. The state appears to have been powerless to bring them to trial either for murder or for the mistreatment of suppliants, but the curse of impiety rested upon the whole family for two centuries or more.² There was need of laws and courts for the suppression of such feuds.

105. Draco, the Lawgiver (621 B.C.).—By keeping the laws secret the nobles had ruled thus far in their own interest; the magistrates decided cases in favour of those of their own rank or of those who could pay the highest fee. Men were growing rich through injustice; and though the great lords were often at strife with one another, they agreed in insulting and oppressing the lower class. Naturally the commons resisted this oppression and demanded to know the laws by which they were judged. The nobles yielded, and in 621 B.C. the citizens elected Draco “legislator”³ with full power to write out a code for the state.

His laws of homicide are of chief interest because the Athenians retained them unchanged for many centuries. Before Draco’s time a man who killed another in self-defence, or for any other good reason, was compelled, like the wilful murderer, to flee from the country or satisfy the kinsmen of the slain by paying them a sum of money; otherwise they would kill him in revenge. According to Draco’s code wilful murder was to be tried by the council of nobles sitting on the Areopagus,⁴ a hill sacred to the Furies, and the penalty in case of

¹ The work of the Furies, or angry goddesses, was to punish perjury, murder, mistreatment of parents and suppliants, and other such offences. At that time their shrine was a cave on the south side of the Areopagus.

² A suppliant was one who took refuge at an altar or in a temple of some god. Any one who mistreated a suppliant brought upon himself and his family the curse of impiety.

³ He was one of the six thesmothetae; § 100.

⁴ From this place of meeting the council of nobles received its name, Council of the Areopagus.

conviction was death, with the confiscation of the murderer's property. Other cases of homicide were tried in lesser courts and were not so severely punished. One who accidentally killed another was sent temporarily into exile, whereas killing in self-defence went unpunished.

Theft of vegetables was punishable with death; and this fact has given Draco a reputation for cruelty. But though the penalty for stealing was too severe, the laws of homicide were a great improvement. "Whoever made them originally, whether heroes or gods, did not oppress the unfortunate, but alleviated humanely their miseries as far as they could with right."¹ It is even probable that apart from his laws of homicide he made little change in existing customs, so that he cannot be held wholly responsible for the harsh features of his code.

106. Lords and Tenants.—Draco's laws did nothing, however, to help the wretched poor. The cause of their misery requires explanation. The nobles were not content with the enjoyment of all the political power, but aimed also to acquire all the wealth in the state and to gain an absolute mastery over the citizens. They forced the free peasants into dependence on themselves; when a lord laid claim to a field, whether justly or unjustly, he placed on it a "boundary" stone, as a sign that the land and the persons on it were his. It was not long before these stones stood on nearly all the farms in Attica, holding "Black Earth enslaved", in the words of Solon, a great statesman of the time. If any one failed to pay his rent or otherwise fell into debt to his lord, he and his children could be sold into slavery. With nothing but sharpened sticks for digging the stony soil, the poor tenants found it so difficult to make a living and pay their dues that many were actually sold into slavery to foreign masters. There was no legal way of obtaining satisfaction, for their lords were the judges in the courts. Accordingly, they agreed among themselves to rebel.

¹ Demosthenes, xxiii. 70

III. SOLON'S REFORMS

107. His Archonship (594 B.C.).—Solon was not only a member of one of the noblest families in Attica, but also a merchant of wide experience, and a friend of the poor. As all classes, therefore, had confidence in him, they elected him Archon and lawgiver for the year 594 B.C., that he might restore harmony among the citizens and give them a better government.

On the day he entered office he ordered the removal of all the boundary stones, so as to release the tenants from the payment of dues to their lords. To secure the freedom of citizens for the present and future, Solon reinforced his order by the following personal liberty laws:

All who are in slavery for debt shall be free.

No one shall sell his children and kinswomen into slavery.

As security for loans, no one shall accept mortgages on the bodies of free persons.

No one shall own more than a certain amount of land fixed by law.

108. His Improvements in the Constitution.—In order that the people might henceforth protect their freedom and their property, he admitted the poorest class (the the'tes)¹ as well as the others to a popular supreme court which he established, and to the assembly. The court was composed of all citizens thirty years old and above who offered to serve as jurors; all who were eighteen and above might take part in the assembly. Yet, as these duties long remained unpaid, none but the well-to-do could find leisure regularly to attend to them. In the assembly the people elected their magistrates and voted on important public questions brought before them by the Council of Four Hundred—formerly Four Hundred and One.² The popular court, on the other hand, received appeals from the judgments of the archons and tried the magistrates at the expira-

¹ As explained above (§§ 101, 103, 152, V) the assembly under the pre-Solonian government admitted those only who could afford to equip themselves with heavy armour. They made up the three higher, or wealthier, census classes (§ 103, II). Members of the lowest class—the thetes—were excluded under the pre-Solonian timocracy, but admitted by Solon; cf. § 109, II. 4.

² §§ 102, 103, IV

tion of their terms, if any one accused them of having abused their authority. These were by far his most important measures. He did not rest, however, till he had improved the entire government.

109. Outline of the Reformed Constitution

I. The Territorial Divisions of Attica

The four tribes and forty-eight nau'cra-ries, or townships, remained as before (§ 103, I).

II. The Four Census Classes

1. The *pen-ta-co-si-o-me-dim'ni* — "five-hundred-bushel men" — whose estates yielded 500 or more measures of grain, oil, and wine. They were eligible to cavalry service, to the highest military offices, to treasuryships, and archonships.
2. The *hip'peis*—knights—whose estates yielded from 300 to 500 measures wet and dry. They were eligible to cavalry service, probably to the archonships, and to various offices of moderate importance.
3. The *zeu-gi'tae*—"yoked-men", that is, heavy-armed men in battle array—whose estates yielded from 200 to 300 measures wet and dry. They served in the heavy infantry and were eligible to inferior offices.
4. The *thetes*—the labourers, the poor—whose estates were inferior to those of the zeugitae, or who were entirely without land. They served as light-armed troops, and though eligible to no offices, they could attend the assembly and the popular court.

The first three classes paid war taxes, which were rarely levied; but the thetes were exempt. The classes existed before (§ 103, II), but Solon gave them this definite form.

III. The Magistrates

They had the same duties as in the preceding period (§103, III); for their qualifications, see II. At the close of their terms of office they were now responsible to the popular court.

IV. The Councils

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Council (<i>Boulê</i>) of the Areopagus 2. The Council (<i>Boulê</i>) of the Four Hundred | } | <p>Qualifications and method of appointment of the councillors and powers of the councils were substantially as before (§ 103, IV).</p> |
|---|---|---|

V. The Assembly —*Ec-cle'si-a*

1. Composed of all the citizens who had the leisure and the desire to attend
2. It elected magistrates and voted on questions brought before it by the Council of Four Hundred.

VI. The Popular Supreme Court—*Hel-i-aé-a*

1. Composed of all citizens above thirty years of age who had the leisure and the desire to attend
2. It received appeals from the judgments of archons and tried the magistrates at the end of their terms.

VII. Form of Government

A comparison with the outline given in § 103 proves that, though Solon introduced important changes, the greater part of the earlier constitution continued in force. The government was still a timocracy, as political privileges were graded on the basis of wealth. But in Solon's arrangements the popular court and the attendance of the thetes at the assembly were democratic. These popular elements of the constitution gradually grew so strong that in time they made the whole government democratic.¹

110. Special Laws of Solon.—The improvement of the constitution was but a part of Solon's work. He made laws on various subjects. The most important are given below:

Draco's laws of homicide he accepted without change, for he believed them to be just; but in the case of other offences he lightened such penalties as he found too severe. Henceforth the theft of a cabbage or an apple was not punishable with death.

He forbade the exportation of all products of the soil except olive oil. His object was to prevent famine, by keeping at home the food produced in the country.

He compelled every man to teach his son a trade and passed other laws to encourage skilled industry. For he saw that the soil was unfit for agriculture and believed the only hope of prosperity for the country to be in manufacturing and commerce. Thereafter Athens developed along these lines.

Before his time Athens had no currency of her own, but used the coins of Aegina. This island-state was now a rival of Athens. Her more friendly neighbour, Chalcis, however, had issued a lighter silver coin, which Solon adopted as a standard for his city.² This measure helped trade with

¹ The constitution of a period should be studied only in comparison with the one which preceded. The changes should be noted, and the reasons for the changes sought. Studied in this way, the history of government becomes profitable and even interesting.

² His silver drachma was nearly equal in weight to twenty cents (ten-pence) of our money, but the purchasing power was much greater. In Solon's time one drachma would buy a medimnus (1½ bu.) of wheat, and five drachmas an ox.

Euboea, with the Chalcidic colonies, and with all other countries which used the same standard. Thus Solon introduced Athens to a commercial world which she had scarcely known before.

He limited, too, the freedom of women, not permitting them to go out at night except in a carriage with a torch-bearer ahead. The women in Homer's time enjoyed as much freedom as the men; those of Sparta had more,¹ but Athenian women from Solon's time came to be confined more and more to the house, and their social influence waned through the years that followed.

Lastly may be mentioned his sedition law. Knowing that there would still be civil strife in Attica, he ordered the people in case of violent party conflict to join whichever side they deemed most just. Any one who held aloof from the contention should be dishonoured and deprived of the citizenship. His object was to compel the commons to take an active part in public life; and he believed that they could by united effort bring any sedition quickly to a close, as they had done in the case of Cylon's conspiracy.

111. Drifting into Anarchy (594-560 B.C.).—Solon made his laws binding for a hundred years and required all the citizens to swear to obey them. When he had completed his work, "he found himself beset by people coming to him and harassing him concerning his laws, criticising here and questioning there, till as he wished neither to alter what he had decided on nor yet to be an object of ill-will to every one by remaining in Athens, he set off on a journey to Egypt . . . for ten years with the combined objects of trade and travel".²

After visiting many foreign lands, he returned home to find his country in great confusion. No one was satisfied with his reforms; the nobles had hoped he would restore to them all their old power, and the poor had expected a complete redistribution of property. In fact, though Solon had provided his country with excellent laws, there was no one with the will and the power to enforce them. The state, accordingly, was fall-

¹ §§ 48, 88

² Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 11

ing into anarchy; the men of the Hills, Plain, and Shore¹ were fighting one another so that in some years no Archon could be elected.

IV. THE TYRANNY²

560–510 B.C.

112. Pisistratus becomes Tyrant (560 B.C.).—The leader of the Hill men was Pi-sis'tra-tus, "crafty and pleasant of speech,



AN ATHENIAN LADY
In time of Pisistratus
(Acropolis Museum, Athens)

a protector of the poor, and a man of moderation even in his quarrels".³

These popular qualities attracted many followers. But the men of the Plain and of the Shore⁴ were his bitter foes, who would not hesitate to kill him if an opportunity offered. One day he drove into the market-place at Athens and showed the people wounds which he said his enemies had inflicted on himself and his mules. The people in the assembly voted their favourite a guard of fifty men, who were to arm themselves with clubs. Pisistratus quietly increased

the number, and after substituting spears for clubs, he seized the citadel and made himself tyrant—illegal ruler⁵—of Athens.

Though the government of Pisistratus was moderate he had not ruled long when the leader of the Shore, combining with the chief of the Plain, drove him into exile. The two allies soon quarrelled; then the leader of the Shore "opened negotia-

¹ § 104

² As an introduction to the tyranny at Athens. § 72 should be reviewed.

³ Plutarch, *Solon*, 29

⁴ § 104

⁵ § 72

tions with Pisistratus, proposing that the latter should marry his daughter; and on these terms he brought him back to Athens by a very primitive and simple-minded device. He first spread abroad a rumour that Athena was bringing back Pisistratus, and then having found a woman of great stature and beauty, . . . he dressed her in a garb resembling that of the goddess and brought her into the city with Pisistratus. The latter drove in on a chariot with the woman beside him, and the inhabitants of the city, struck with awe, received him with adoration".¹ A disagreement with his father-in-law forced the tyrant a second time into exile. After devoting ten years to gathering resources, he again returned. The commons welcomed him, but many nobles in terror fled from the country. Regaining his authority in this way, Pisistratus established himself firmly by means of troops hired from other states.

113. His Government.—"His administration was temperate, as has been said before, and more like constitutional government than tyranny. Not only was he in every respect humane and mild and ready to forgive those who offended, but in addition he advanced money to the poorer people to help them in their labours, so that they might make their living by agriculture. In this he had two objects: First, that they might not spend their time in the city, but might be scattered over all the face of the country; and, secondly, that, being moderately well off and occupied with their own business, they might have neither the wish nor the leisure to attend to public affairs. At the same time his revenues were increased by the thorough cultivation of the country, since he imposed a tax of one tenth on all the produce."²

He built an aqueduct to supply Athens with fresh water; he erected temples, founded religious festivals, and encouraged literature and art. His reign marks a great advance, not only in education, but also in agriculture, in the industries, in wealth, and in quiet, orderly government.

¹ Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 14

² Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 16

114. Hippias and Hipparchus.—When he died in old age (527 B.C.), his sons Hip'pi-as and Hip-par'chus succeeded him. For a time they imitated the wise government of their father. But unfortunately Hipparchus, the younger, in an affair of love, insulted Har-mo'di-us and Ar-is-to-gei'ton, two noble youths, who in return plotted the overthrow of the tyrants. Taking advantage of a festival in honour of Athena, they concealed their swords in myrtle wreaths and killed Hipparchus while he was arranging the procession. Hippias, who as the elder was the head of the government, they could not surprise. Failing, therefore, to overthrow the tyranny, they were themselves taken and put to death. But after the Athenians regained their freedom, they celebrated Har-modius and Aristogeiton in song as tyrant-slayers, and decreed public honours to be enjoyed forever by the descendants of the two heroes.



GRAVESTONE OF ARISTION
An Athenian warrior in
the time of the tyranny
(National Museum, Athens)

In consequence of the murder Hippias treated the nobles with great harshness, so that he became very unpopular.

Meanwhile the exiled nobles were trying to bring about their return. Cleis'thenes, leader of the exiles, won the favour of the Delphic oracle by building for Apollo a splendid temple with a marble front; on this work he spent far more money than the contract demanded. In gratitude for the generous deed, the prophetess was ready to aid in restoring the exiles to their homes. Accordingly, whenever the Lacedaemonians, now the leading people of

Peloponnese, sent to consult the oracle on any subject whatever, the answer was always, "*Athens must be set free*".

In obedience to the oracle Cle-om'e-nes, king of Sparta, led an army into Attica and besieged Hippias in the Acropolis. The tyrant and his friends attempted to send their children secretly through the besieging lines to a place of safety, but they fell into the hands of the enemy. To recover them, Hippias with his associates agreed to leave the country within five days. In this way the tyranny came to an end, 510 B.C.

V. THE DEMOCRACY

BEGINNING 508 B.C.

115. Isagoras and Cleisthenes (510–508 B.C.).—After the overthrow of the tyranny the nobles, instead of devoting themselves to the good of the country, began a struggle for power, as had been the custom before and after Solon's time.¹ The chief rivals were I-sag'o-ras, a friend of the tyrants, and Cleisthenes; and the prize they contended for was the archonship. With the help of political clubs, rather than by popular votes, Isagoras gained the office. In his disappointment Cleisthenes then appealed to the people to help him oust Isagoras from the office, promising to give them in return the right to vote, of which they had been unconstitutionally deprived. Thereupon Isagoras called on his friend Cleomenes of Sparta for help, and the latter came with a small army. Cleisthenes and his friends fled into exile. It seems clear that Isagoras was now trying to make himself tyrant. The people, however, rose up in their might and besieged him and his friends in the Acropolis. On the third day they allowed the Lacedaemonians to depart and recalled Cleisthenes with his partisans from exile. After gaining the upper hand, the people gave their champion complete power over the government in order that he might fulfil his promise. He was probably appointed "legislator" with absolute power.

116. The Reforms of Cleisthenes (508 B.C.).—True to his promise, Cleisthenes thoroughly reformed the government, with the object (1) of mingling all classes of people on the public registers of citizens that the humble and high-born

¹ §§ 104, 111

might enjoy an equal right to vote, and (2) of putting an end to the feuds among the Plain, Shore, and Hills. To accomplish these ends he first divided Attica into more than a hundred demes, or townships.¹ These small localities he grouped in ten new tribes in such a way that the townships of a tribe were not all together, but some of them were in the Hills, others in the Plain, and still others in the Shore. In other words, the tribe was not one continuous district, but was made up of parts which were widely separated from one another. In this way the Plain, Shore, and Hills were distributed in small parcels among the ten tribes. Losing their unity, they ceased to give trouble. The object in creating new tribes, in place of the four old ones, was to do away with distinctions of rank; for the nobles had controlled the old tribes, but the commons were on a political level with them in the new. Cleisthenes was successful in his plans; the people were thereafter more nearly equal than they had been before, and sectional warfare entirely ceased.

He substituted a Council of Five Hundred—fifty from each tribe—in place of the Four Hundred; and he provided that there should be ten generals, one for each tribe.

117. Outline of the Constitution as reformed by Cleisthenes

After he had made these changes, and some others of less importance, the constitution of Athens had the following form:

I. Territorial Divisions

Ten tribes divided into more than one hundred demes; the demes were nearly the same as are the townships of a modern state.

II. The Four Census Classes as before

III. The Magistrates

1. The nine archons as before (§ 103, III); they gradually declined in importance as the more popular offices developed.
2. The ten generals, one from each tribe. They led the ten tribal regiments and formed a council of war under the polemarch. The generals gradually grew in authority at the expense of the archons, till they became the chief magistrates.

¹ The demes, created by Cleisthenes, took the place of the forty-eight townships (naucraries) which had come into existence before the time of Solon (§ 103, I).

IV. The Councils

1. Of the Areopagus

Composition and duties as before (§ 103, IV); but the popular measures of Cleisthenes drove it into the background. It came again to the front in the war with Persia, and thereafter (480-462 B.C.) gradually declined as the democratic institutions (the assembly, popular courts, and the Council of Five Hundred) grew.

2. Of the Five Hundred (in place of the Four Hundred; § 103, IV), fifty drawn by lot from the candidates presented by each tribe.

(a) Organization.—These ten groups of councillors took turns in managing the business of the council, each for a *prytany*, or tenth of a year. The fifty men on duty for a given time were called *pryt-a'nes* ("foremen"). Their chairman was changed daily. He presided also over the entire council for the short time it met each day, and over the assembly.

(b) Functions.—It prepared decrees for presentation to the assembly and gradually took the place of the Council of the Areopagus as the chief supervisory and administrative power in the state.

V. The Assembly (regularly meeting once in a prytany)

VI. The Popular Supreme Court (meeting but a few times each year)

Composition and functions as before (§ 103, V, VI); they began to take a far more active part in the government.

VII. Form of Government

1. Aristocratic elements

(a) Council of the Areopagus (because it was filled by wealthy men who held their places for life)

(b) High property qualifications of the archons

(c) Filling the archonships by election (rather than by lot)

(d) Absence of pay for most public duties.

2. Democratic elements

(a) Assembly and popular court (because they were composed of all the citizens)

(b) Council of Five Hundred (as it was filled by lot, the poor had an equal chance of appointment with the rich).

3. Summary.—A comparison of this outline with those of the government (1) before Solon and (2) after Solon's reforms, proves that Solon and Cleisthenes did not make new constitutions, but modified existing forms of government in a democratic direction.

118. Ostracism.—Cleisthenes introduced a peculiar institution termed "ostracism". The word is derived from *os'tra-kon*, piece of pottery, which was the form of ballot used in the process. Once a year, if the assembly saw fit, the citizens met

and voted against any of their number whom they deemed dangerous to the state. If the archons found, on counting the votes, that there were fewer than six thousand in all, the vote had no effect. If, however, they found that at least six thou-



AN OSTRAKON
Cast against Themistocles
(British Museum)

sand persons had voted, they sent the man who had received the greatest number of votes into exile for ten years. It did not require six thousand votes cast against a person, but only a plurality of that number, to expel him. As the Athenian noble lacked respect for the govern-

ment, he would not, when defeated in his candidacy for office, submit to the will of the majority, but preferred rather in defiance of law to destroy his more fortunate rival.¹ Ostracism removed the dangerous man from the community and left at the head of the state the one whom the people believed to be the best and ablest.

119. Sparta tries to overthrow the Democracy.— After the Spartans had formed the Peloponnesian League,² they advanced steadily in strength. Toward the end of the sixth century Megara joined their alliance. They aimed to extend their influence, especially by helping the nobles of various Greek states against the tyrants. Accordingly, Cleomenes, their king, had willingly undertaken the work of expelling Hippias,³ doubtless in the hope that the Lacedaemonians would be able to control Athens after she had been liberated.

When, however, he saw the democracy established, he gathered the forces of Peloponnesians, and without stating his object, led them into Attica, while the Thebans and Chalcidians invaded the country in concert with him. Though inferior in number, the Athenians marched bravely forth to meet the Peloponnesians at Eleusis. Fortunately for Athens, the Cor-

Cf. the conduct of Cleisthenes; § 164

² § 96

³ § 114

inthians, on learning the purpose of the expedition, refused to take part in it on the ground that it was unjust, and the other allies followed their example. As Cleomenes could then do nothing but retreat homeward, the Athenians turned about and defeated the Thebans and the Chalcidians separately on the same day. They punished Chalcis for the invasion by taking from her a large tract of land, on which they settled four thousand colonists. An Athenian colony was but an addition to Attica; and though it had a local government, its members remained citizens of Athens.

Some time afterward the Lacedaemonians invited Hippias to their city, called a congress of allies, and proposed to restore him. But the deputy from Corinth interposed in favour of Athens, and as the other allies agreed with him, Hippias went off disappointed to Asia Minor, where he plotted with the Persians against his native land.¹ Soon afterward the Athenians secured their peace with Sparta by entering the Peloponnesian League. Their place in it was exceptionally favourable, as it allowed them complete independence.

120. The Political Condition of Greece (about 500 B.C.).—At the close of this period (about 750–500 B.C.), most of the Greek peninsula west and north of Boeotia was still occupied by barbarous or half-civilized tribes; as yet Thebes had accomplished nothing remarkable, and Argos had declined. The Greek cities of Italy and Sicily, mostly under tyrants, were disunited and weak; those of Asia Minor, as a later chapter (XI) will tell, acknowledged the Persian king as their master. Athens and Sparta had achieved more for the political development of Greece than any other cities. Attica was firmly united under a moderate democracy. At last the citizens were at peace with one another. They formed an effective militia, though as yet they had no fleet. They were intelligent, vigorous, and enthusiastic, ready for a life-and-death struggle, if need be, in defence of Hellenic freedom. Though less active and less intelligent, the Spartans were the best trained and the steadiest soldiers in the world, and were prepared by lifelong

discipline for facing death at the command of their country; they and their allies formed the great military power of Hellas. It was well that Athens and the Peloponnesian League had made so much progress in government and in military affairs, for they were soon to be called on to match themselves, almost unaided, with the vast strength of the Persian empire.

CHAPTER X

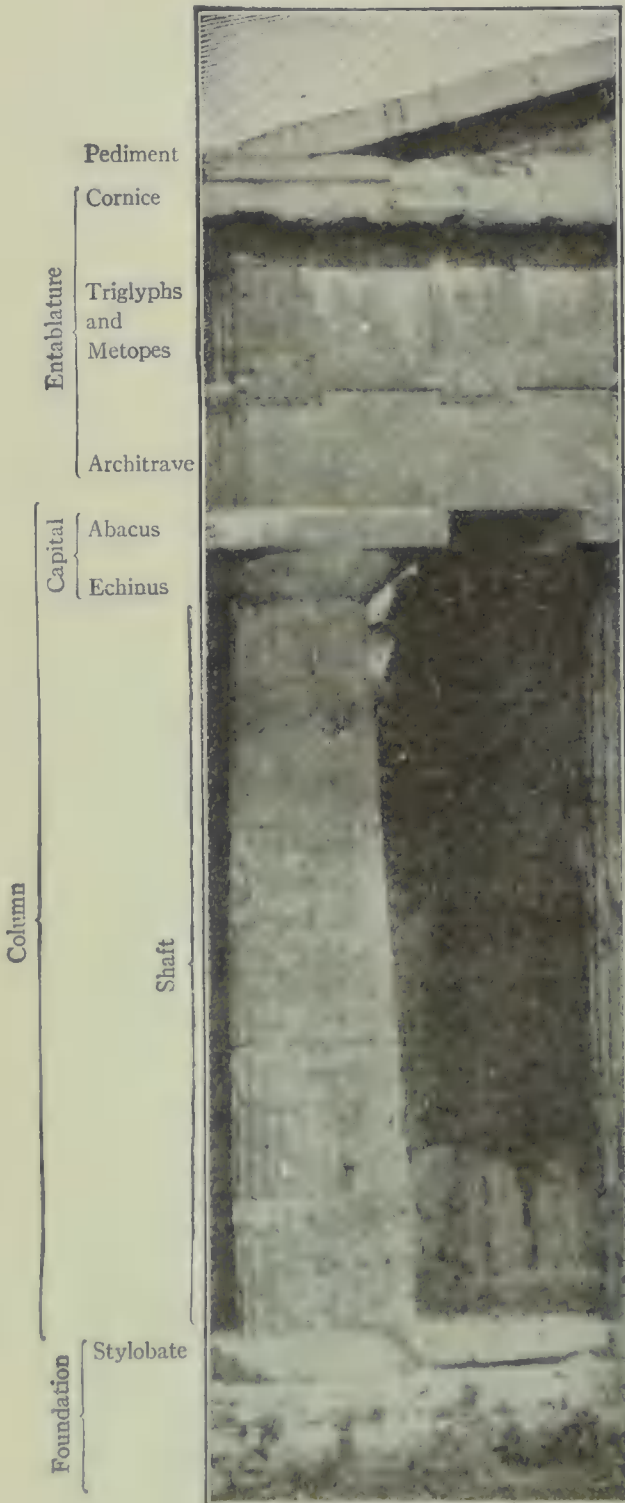
INTELLECTUAL AWAKENING

ABOUT 750-500 B.C.

121. General Character of the Period.—During this period the Greeks were extending their settlements to the remotest parts of the Mediterranean and of the smaller seas which branch out from it. They covered those waters with a network of trade routes. At the same time they were improving their military organizations and were making enormous strides in the art of government. Progress along these lines was accompanied by a great intellectual awakening. In the beginning of the period the art of the Greeks was crude; they had less useful knowledge of life than the Egyptians and the Babylonians, little skilled industry, and no science whatever. At the end they were in art, in industrial activity, in science, and in mental power the foremost nation in the world. In the present chapter we shall rapidly trace the main lines of this remarkable development.

122. Architecture.—Various branches of art, such as the making and decoration of vases, painting, and fine work in the metals, were cultivated during the period. But we shall limit our study to architecture, the noblest form of art, and to sculpture, the branch most closely related to it.

Among the Greeks of this age, and in fact of all ages, architecture found its highest expression in the temple. At first the Greeks did not imagine that their gods needed dwelling-houses, but as early as the seventh century B.C., they were building temples in all their cities. Gradually these buildings were made more and more symmetrical and graceful till they became models of beauty. To understand the structure of the temple, it is necessary first to notice three orders of architecture—



CORNER OF TEMPLE OF POSEIDON, POSEIDONIA

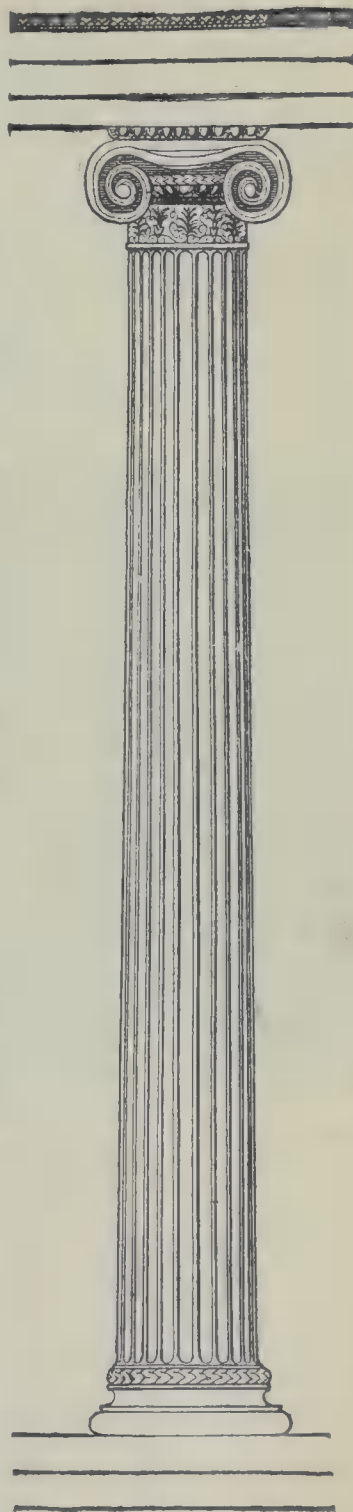
Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. They are distinguished by the column—the chief feature of the Greek temple. Originally but a tree trunk, the column came in time to be made of stone.

123. The Doric Order.—The Doric column rests directly on the temple foundation.¹ Usually it is not a single stone, but is made of “drums”. The diameter at the top is less than at the bottom. The tapering, however, is not in a straight line, but in a gentle outward curve, or swelling. It is an interesting fact that the swelling is much greater in the earlier than in the later temples; it was found that by diminishing the curve a greater degree of gracefulness could be attained. After the

¹The part of the foundation on which the colonnade—row of columns—rests is called the stylo-bate.

column had been set in its place, it was carefully channelled, or fluted, from top to bottom. The Doric order has usually twenty flutings. The swelling and channelling combine to give the pillar grace and an appearance of elasticity. The head of the column is the capital. Though of one piece, it is made up of two elements: (1) The *ab'a-cus*, a square block resting on (2) the *e-chi'nus* "cushion", a round piece considerably greater in diameter than the column itself. In the earlier temples the echinus was "bowl-shaped", but in time the outward curve diminished, till in the best period¹ it became very slight. This change, too, meant increasing grace. The Doric column developed from the Mycenaean. The earliest examples of the order show Egyptian influence. Its home was the Greek peninsula.

124. The Ionic and Corinthian Orders.—The Ionic column originated in Asia Minor. It differs from the Doric in having a base. This part is round and is ornamented in various ways. The shaft bulges less and is more slender and graceful. By the word shaft is meant the entire column apart from the base and capital. The number of flutings is greater—in the best period usually twenty-four. The capital has the form of a spiral roll. Whereas the Doric capital is very



AN IONIC COLUMN

¹ The "best period" is the Age of Pericles; §§ 185 ff

simple, the Ionic is always more or less ornamented. In general, the beauty of the Doric style is severe and chaste; the Ionic is more beautiful and graceful. The Corinthian is but a growth from the Ionic. It is distinguished by its capital of acanthus leaves and by its greater elegance. It was invented in the fifth century, but did not come into extensive use till the Greek genius began to decline.

125. Architrave, Triglyphs, Metopes, Cornice, Frieze, and Pediments.—Above the columns is the arch'i-trave. It consists

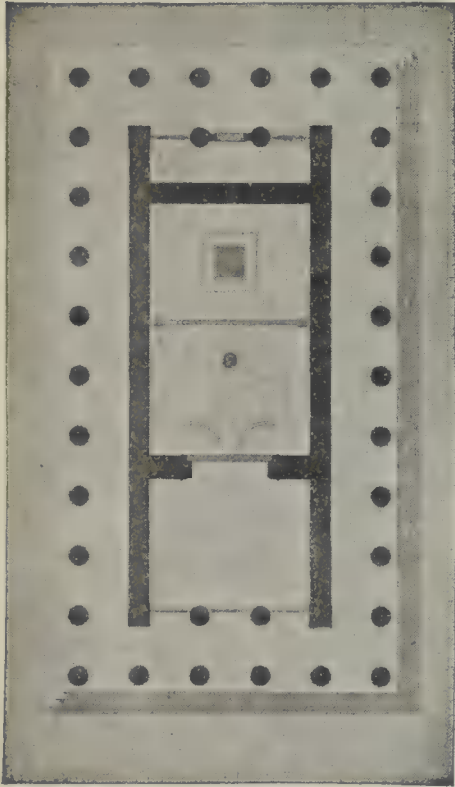


CORINTHIAN CAPITAL
(From Epidaurus)

of long, rectangular blocks, which reach from one column to another and support the upper part of the building. It is always left plain. Resting on the architrave, and so extending entirely around the temple, is a succession of triglyphs and met'o-pes, alternating with one another. Triglyphs are tablets crossed by three deep vertical channels, hence the name "three-grooved". Those on the two sides cover the ends of the beams which stretch

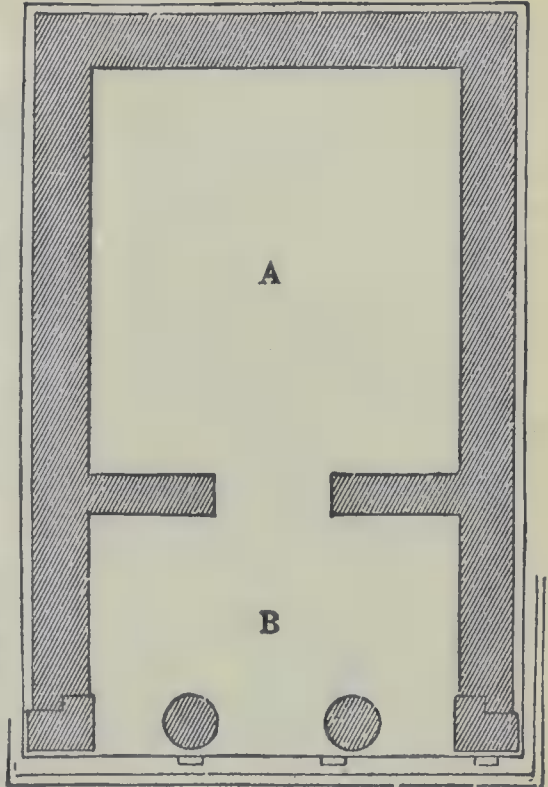
across the building for the support of the ceiling and the roof. The metope—"face between"—is so named because it is placed between two triglyphs. It is likewise a stone tablet, left entirely plain, or simply painted, or more commonly ornamented with reliefs. A relief is a figure sculptured in such a way as to stand out from the general surface of the stone as a background. Low relief stands out but slightly, high relief much more. The triglyphs and metopes together make up the Doric

frieze. Above this frieze runs the cornice.¹ The Ionic frieze is a continuous band of reliefs extending around the building. In Ionic temples it takes the place of the triglyphs and metopes. When the building is entirely surrounded by a colonnade, how-



PLAN OF TEMPLE AT PRIENE
Double Temple *in antis* surrounded
by Peristyle

(From Rayet and Thomas, *Milet et le Golfe Latinique*, Pl. IX)



PLAN OF SMALL TEMPLE
Rhamnus. A, *cella*; B, *vestibule*

(From *Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, Chap. VII, Pl. I)

ever, the Ionic frieze is placed on the temple walls behind the columns. The pediment is the gable. It is usually ornamented either with high reliefs or with figures detached from the surface.

126. The Plan.—The earliest and simplest plan is a rectangular room—the *cella*—with a single door. The side walls

¹ The Doric frieze, the cornice, and the architrave constitute the *en-tab'la-ture*. When the word frieze is used without a descriptive adjective, it applies rather to the Ionic frieze explained in the text below.

project so as to form a vestibule in front of the door.¹ Between their ends stand two or more columns, as shown in the illustration. The cella contained the image of the deity. The temple was not primarily a place of worship, but the dwelling of the god. For the utensils used in the sacrifices and for the safe-keeping of the many gifts he received, it often happened



TEMPLE OF POSEIDON, POSEIDONIA
(From a photograph)

that one or more storerooms had to be added to the rear. In the latter part of the period which we are now studying, a temple was sometimes beautified by a row of columns extending entirely around it. Such a colonnade is called a *per'i-style*.

127. Sculpture.—There are two principal kinds of sculpture—reliefs, explained above, and statues. As an example of an early relief may take a metope from a temple built in Selinus, Sicily, about 600 B.C. One of these metopes represents Perseus

¹ The square column which ends a projecting wall of the kind is called by the Latin name *anta*. Such a temple is described therefore as a temple *in antis*. If the vestibule is repeated in the rear, the building becomes a double temple *in antis*.

cutting off Medusa's head.¹ Behind him stands his protecting goddess, Athena. The work is very crude. The heads, arms, and legs are much too large; the bodies are distorted; the eyes stare; the faces lack expression. This work, though creditable for the period, falls far short of the perfection afterward attained. Equally rude are the statues carved at the time. During the period, however, considerable progress was made. As evidence of improvement we may compare with these early figures the grave-relief of the warrior Aristion,² chiselled at Athens under the tyranny. It distinctly reveals the Greek genius.

128. Deepening Religion; Oracles and Divination.—The one great motive which led the Greeks to make all these improvements in art was religion. The belief that the gods were magnified men and women of perfect physical form, the benefactors of all who properly worshipped them, inspired both architect and sculptor. The age which saw these early improvements was one of religious progress. The Greek mind was reaching out into the unknown, trying to discover the nature of God and of his relations with man, and striving at the same time to come into closer touch with the deity.

In this age, accordingly, oracles were first established in many parts of Hellas. That of Apollo at Delphi was described in an earlier chapter.³ But the Greeks felt the need of consulting a deity without the delay of a journey to an oracle. Sometimes the flight of birds gave them the omen they desired. The kind of divination, however, which they found most convenient was the Babylonian—the examination of the inner parts of an animal offered in sacrifice.⁴ In the period we are now considering, this custom came to them from Babylonia, in what way we do not know. Thereafter the Greeks resorted to it before every battle or other important undertaking.

¹ P. 52

³ § 54

² P. 96

⁴ Still earlier the Etruscans had adopted the same system, but developed it in a different way; § 304.

· **129. Orphic and Eleusinian Mysteries.**—Though the Greeks learned how to discover the will of the gods, they still cherished two stronger desires: (1) They wanted the joy of personal relations with the deity; (2) they longed for happiness in the future life. Both desires were gratified by a foreign religion—

the Orphic mysteries.

They came from the Thracian Or'pheus, a mythical prophet and musician, and centred in the worship of Di-o-ny'sus, the god of life in nature, symbolized by the grape and wine. The priests of Orpheus travelled throughout Hellas, making converts and initiating them into the mysteries. The chief feature of the initiation was a revel by night over some mountain top. The



A GREEK VASE

(Demeter, Persephone, and a king of Eleusis)

novices, waving torches, danced wildly to the sound of pipes and cymbals. In the frenzy thus excited they imagined that they were themselves the deity and had a foretaste of their future life of bliss. After initiation they had to live temperately, to abstain from animal food, and to keep themselves religiously pure. In this way they prepared for endless happiness beyond the grave.

Other mysteries, partly of foreign origin, grew up in E-leu'sis, Attica. They were connected with the worship of Demeter, the earth-mother. She had a daughter Per-seph'o-ne, whom Hades forcibly carried off to his dark home beneath the earth. The mother was sad, and therefore the whole earth became cold and barren. She wandered about in search of her

daughter, till she came to Eleusis, where she was received into the family of the king. There her daughter was restored, but with the understanding that she was to live with Hades as his wife and queen during four months of the year—the winter months. It was originally a nature myth, to explain the alternation of summer and winter; but in this period the story was so interpreted as to signify death and the resurrection. Dionysus, with some features of the Orphic mysteries, was introduced into this worship. A great Eleusinian festival was held in September of each year. All the Athenians, the magistrates and priests in their official robes, the citizens in their holiday attire, took part in a grand procession along the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis. There with public ceremonies they worshipped Demeter, goddess of agriculture and author of their civilization; and the initiated attended in secret to the mystic rites of her service. Among the mysteries was a passion play which exhibited the grief of Demeter when her daughter was taken from her by Hades, and the joy of receiving her back. Such, her worshippers thought, were the sorrows of death and the joys of reunion in the world beyond the grave. All Greeks, men and women, slaves and freemen, had equal rights to initiation.

130. Increasing Knowledge; the Use of Writing.—The priests of Orpheus spread their faith with such zeal that in the sixth century B.C. it came near gaining a complete mastery over the minds of the Greeks. Such an event would have rendered them unfit to work out clearly the problems of government, society, art, and science, which they were already attempting to solve. Fortunately their growing love for a religion of mystery was offset by increasing knowledge. The storing up of facts was made possible by writing.

Early in the Epic Age the Greeks had adopted the Phœnician alphabet, making at the same time some improvements in it. About 700 B.C. they began to use it for recording lists of annual magistrates, and soon afterward for writing laws and other documents. Hence we say that the Historical Age of Greece begins at this time. There was written poetry, too, in

the seventh century, and still more in the sixth. Apart from documents no prose worth mentioning existed in this period.

131. Hesiod; the Beginnings of Personal Poetry.—The earliest writer of the age was Hesiod, an epic poet of Boeotia (about 700 B.C.). He composed the *Theogony*, which tells in homely style of the genealogies of the gods and the creation of the world.¹ His *Works and Days*, another epic, gives the peasant useful information about agriculture. It encourages thrift, and abounds in moral maxims. Whereas Homer idealizes everything of which he sings, the aim of Hesiod is to tell the simple truth. Homer celebrates heroes of the remote past; Hesiod has to do with men in everyday life.

The early epics have little to tell of their authors; but in time it came about that poets expressed freely their own thoughts and feelings. Thus personal poetry arose. The age in which it flourished extends from the time of Hesiod to the end of the great war with Persia (700–479 B.C.).

The elegy is the earliest form of personal poetry. It arose in Ionia and was originally martial. One of the best known martial poets was Tyrtaeus of Sparta, mentioned in connection with the second Messenian War.² Solon used the elegy as a means of bringing his political views before the public. Besides the elegy, Tyrtaeus and Solon composed various kinds of verse.

132. Lyric Poetry.—The highest form of personal poetry is the lyric—the song accompanied by the lyre. The lyric poet composed the music as well as the words of his songs. There were two chief forms of this poetry, the monody and the choral ode. The home of the monody was Lesbos,³ and its great representatives were the Lesbian poets, Alcaeus and Sappho, who belonged to the early part of the sixth century B.C. Alcaeus was “a fiery Aeolian noble” who composed songs of war, adventure, and party strife, love-songs, drinking-songs, and hymns. He was a versatile, brilliant poet. “Violet-crowned, pure, softly smiling Sappho”, as her friend Alcaeus calls her, was his peer in genius. To the ancients she was “the

poetess", as Homer was "the poet"; and sometimes they styled her the "tenth muse".

Monodies were simple songs sung by individuals; but the choral ode was public and was sung by a trained chorus, who accompanied the music with dancing. The most ancient eminent choral poet—perhaps the greatest purely lyric poet of the world—was Pindar of Boeotia (522–448 B.C.). As he belonged to a priestly family, he began even in childhood to fill his mind with myths and religious lore. His poems are made up of this material. Those which have been preserved are in honour of the victors in the great national games. The ode usually narrates some myth connected with the history of the victor's family or city; it glorifies noble birth, well-used wealth, justice, and all manner of virtue. Though difficult to read even in translations, these poems will repay the most careful study. Pindar's style is bold, rapid, and vital; his words glitter like jewels; he is a brilliant exponent of the religious, moral, and social thought of his time.

Besides the poets mentioned, there were many others who flourished in all parts of Greece. The works of some have utterly perished; of others we have mere shreds. There remain but a few entire poems of Alcaeus and Sappho, in addition to many fragments. Pindar has had the best fortune of all the poets of this age, for his most excellent work has come down to us.

133. The Beginnings of Science; Philosophy.—The poets were thinkers, who tried each in his own way to solve the problems of life, which were becoming every day more complex as civilization advanced. In seeking the causes of things, however, they always went back to the supernatural. For instance, they explained the rotation of the seasons by the story of Demeter and Persephone.¹ But about the time of Solon a few of the more intelligent Greeks began to seek for natural causes as an explanation of things. Such persons were scientists.

The founder of Greek science was Tha'les. Naturally he

was a citizen of Miletus, in this period the centre of Hellenic industry, commerce, and intellectual life. It is said that he visited Egypt and brought back from there some scientific knowledge. He was a mathematician, and knew enough astronomy to foretell an eclipse of the sun. The story that while star-gazing he fell into a well is told to prove how unpractical a philosopher is. When referring to the Greeks, we use the word philosophy to include their sciences as well as their more abstract thinking on such great subjects as the nature and original cause of the universe. Thales had a theory that water was the original substance out of which everything had been made. This was, to be sure, a mistake. But the very fact that he was the first to seek a natural rather than a supernatural cause of things makes him the founder of Greek philosophy.

After him came many other philosophers. One especially worthy of mention was Py-thag'o-ras, who laid great stress on mathematics. He had many followers, the Py-thag-o-re'ans. They organized themselves in secret fraternities and adopted the ascetic life and some of the beliefs and mysticism of the Orphists. In general, the scientific awakening of Hellas checked the growth of mysticism, and prepared the way for clear thinking on all subjects of interest to mankind.

134. The Unity of Hellas.—In this period, the Greeks first became conscious of their unity as a people. The fact was brought home to them through commerce and travel, through the possession of one language and religion, and of the national oracle at Delphi, through participation in the great national games, and through the growth of a national literature. The feeling of unity was intensified by their conflicts with foreigners, whom they called "barbarians". This word originally signified a people whose language was unintelligible; but, as the Greeks discovered their own superiority to others, they began to attach to the word the meaning which it now has in our own language. In this age, accordingly, the Greeks were becoming one in spirit and in sympathy, and were beginning to call themselves by one common name—that of Hellenes.

CHAPTER XI

CONQUEST OF ASIATIC GREECE BY THE LYDIANS AND THE PERSIANS

560-493 B.C.

135. Character of the Ionians.—Although successful in developing government and the art of war, the Athenians as well as the Lacedaemonians were thus far inferior to the Greeks of Asia Minor in the finer elements of civilization. Aeolis and Ionia were the homes of the first great poets of Greece. The earliest geographers, historians, and philosophers were Ionians. The same people took the lead in useful inventions: the Ionians were the first of the Greeks to coin money; their ships plied the Mediterranean Sea from Egypt to Massalia. For five hundred years (about 1000-494 B.C.) they were the standard-bearers of Hellenic civilization.

But though admirable for their many excellent qualities, the Ionians were lacking in political ability. The communities rarely acted together and could not think of joining in one strong state. They loved complete independence for their towns and enjoyed the privilege of making war on their neighbours as the diversion of a summer; yet they were a commercial people, not fond of long-continued military service. Their character was their political ruin. It is no wonder that they proved inferior to the empires of Asia, based as these were on unthinking submission to one all-controlling will.

136. Croesus, King of Lydia (560-546 B.C.).—As long as there was no great foreign power in their neighbourhood, these Asiatic Greeks remained free. But gradually Lydia, in the interior, became a strong state. Croesus, who ascended the throne of this country in 560 B.C., admired the Greeks and wished to have them as willing subjects; but when they resisted, he waged war upon them and conquered them with no

great difficulty. He ruled them well, however, as he sought to gain their favour and support against the rising power of Persia. He stole his way into their affections by making costly presents to their gods, especially to Apollo at Delphi.¹ Under him, Lydia reached its height in wealth and power. His treasury was full of gold dust from the sands of the Lydian rivers and of tribute from the cities he had conquered; and, as he was the wealthiest, he supposed himself to be the happiest man on earth. His empire had come to include all Asia Minor west of the Halys River; but it was destined soon to become a part of the far vaster Persian empire, and the happy monarch was doomed to end his life in captivity.

137. The Median and Persian Empires; Conquest of the Asiatic Greeks (606–529 B.C.).—The plateau which lies east of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley was divided into two countries, Media in the north and Persia in the south. The Medes were earlier than the Persians in creating a great political power. Having aided in the overthrow of Assyria (606 B.C.), they built up for themselves an empire which extended westward to the Halys River in Asia Minor. Their further progress in that direction was barred by the kingdom of Lydia; but they met with no difficulty in subduing their nearer neighbours, including Persia.

Cyrus, king of Persia, was, therefore, a vassal of the Median king; but in 550 B.C. he led a successful revolt against his master. Thereupon the Median empire, after a life of about half a century, became Persian. The rapid rise and fall of Oriental empires was mainly due to the fact that the people took little interest in public affairs and willingly submitted to the victor, whatever his nationality. Able and ambitious, Cyrus pushed his conquests in every direction. He defeated Croesus (546 B.C.), took him captive, and annexed his kingdom. The Ionians, who were favoured subjects of the Lydian king, now begged Cyrus to grant them the same terms which they had enjoyed under Croesus; but Cyrus angrily refused. Thereupon the Ionians appealed for aid to the Spartans, who showed their

good-will toward their Asiatic kinsmen by warning Cyrus on his peril not to harm the Hellenic cities. "But when he received this warning from the herald, he asked some Greeks who were standing by, who these Lacedaemonians were, and what was their number, that they dared send him such a notice. When he had received their reply, he turned to the Spartan herald and said: 'I have never yet been afraid of any men who have a set place in the middle of their city, where they come together to cheat each other and perjure themselves. If I live, the Spartans shall have trouble enough of their own to talk of, without concerning themselves about the Ionians'. Cyrus intended these words as a reproach against all the Greeks, because of their having market-places where they buy and sell, which is a custom unknown to the Persians, who never make purchases in open marts, and, indeed, have not in their whole country a single market-place."¹

Cyrus then returned to the East, leaving an army to conquer the Greeks of Asia Minor. As the cities could not unite in defence of freedom, they fell one by one into his hands.

138. Cambyses and Darius, Kings of Persia (529-522, 521-485 B.C.).—The Persian yoke was far more oppressive than the Lydian had been. For the king of Persia insisted that the Greek cities should be ruled by tyrants, through whom he expected to keep his new subjects obedient; and in addition to the payment of tribute, they now had to serve in the Persian armies. Cambyses, son and successor of Cyrus, required them accordingly to help him conquer Egypt. And when Darius, the following king, was preparing to invade Europe at the head of a great army,² to conquer the Scythians, he ordered the tyrants of the Greek cities to furnish six hundred ships and their crews for his use. He crossed the Bosphorus on a bridge of boats arranged for him by a Greek engineer. Meanwhile the tyrants with their fleet sailed up the Danube and bridged the river with their boats that Darius might be able to cross; for the Scythians, a people without settled homes, roamed

¹ Herodotus, i. 153

² The estimate of Herodotus, iv. 87, is seven hundred thousand men—doubtless a great exaggeration.

about in the country north of the Danube and the Black Sea. It was galling to the Greeks to perform such compulsory service, as they felt it a shame to be slaves of the Persians while their kinsmen in Europe were free. Even some of the tyrants, voicing the spirit of their subjects, proposed to cut off the return of Darius by breaking up the bridge he had left in their keeping. Mil-ti'a-des, an Athenian, who was then tyrant of Cher-so-nese', a colony of Athens, favoured the plan; but His-ti-ae'us, despot of Miletus, persuaded the tyrants that the people would depose them if they should lose the support of the Persian king, and in this manner he led them to vote against the proposal. An important result of the expedition of Darius was the annexation of Thrace and Macedon to the Persian empire, which now extended therefore to the border of Thes-saly.

139. The Ionic Revolt (499-494 B.C.): the Beginning.—The king rewarded Histiaeus for his loyalty by inviting him to Susa, one of the capitals of the Persian empire, to pass the remainder of his life as a courtier in the palace. To the ambitious Greek the life at court was no better than exile. Desiring therefore to return to his native land, he sent a secret message to his son-in-law, Ar-is-tag'o-ras, then tyrant of Miletus, urging him to revolt. The latter needed little pressure from his father-in-law, for he was already thinking of taking this step. He had promised the Persians to conquer Naxos and had received help from them on this assurance; but failing in his attempt, he now felt that he would be punished for not keeping his word. He decided accordingly to take the lead in a revolt which he knew was threatening. His first step was to resign his tyranny and give Miletus a democratic government. He then helped depose the tyrants of the neighbouring cities, and in a few weeks all Ionia followed him in a rebellion against Darius.

140. Aristagoras at Sparta and at Athens (winter of 499-498 B.C.).—Aristagoras spent the next winter in looking about for allies. First he went to Sparta and addressed King Cleomenes as follows: "That the sons of the Ionians should be

slaves instead of free is a reproach and grief most of all indeed for ourselves, but of all others most to you, inasmuch as ye are the leaders of Hellas. Now, therefore, I entreat you by the gods of Hellas to rescue from slavery the Ionians, who are your own kinsmen: and ye may easily achieve this, for the foreigners are not valiant in fight, whereas ye have attained to the highest point of valour in war: and their fighting is of this fashion, namely, with bows and arrows and a short spear, and they go into battle wearing trousers and with caps on their heads. Thus they may easily be conquered. Then, again, they who occupy that continent have good things in such quantities as not all the other nations in the world possess; first gold, then silver and bronze and embroidered garments and beasts of burden and slaves; all which ye might have for yourselves if ye so desired".¹

Aristagoras then proceeded to indicate the location of the various Asiatic nations on a map traced on a plate of bronze, the first the Spartans had ever seen. He tried to show how easily the Lacedaemonians could conquer the whole Persian empire. "How long a journey is it from the Ionian coast to the Persian capital?" Cleomenes asked. "A three-months' journey", Aristagoras answered incautiously. "Guest-Friend from Miletus", the Spartan king interrupted, "get thee away from Sparta before the sun has set; for thou speakest a word which sounds not well in the ears of the Lacedaemonians, desiring to take them on a journey of three months from the sea". The smooth Ionian then tried to win him with a bribe, but was frustrated by the king's daughter, Gorgo, a child of eight or nine years of age, who exclaimed, "Father, the stranger will harm thee, if thou do not leave him and go!"

Aristagoras then went to Athens, where he found his task easier. The Athenians were near kinsmen of the Ionians and in close commercial relations with them. And recently the governor of Sardis had ordered the Athenians to take back Hippias as their tyrant, if they wished to escape destruction.

¹ Herodotus, v. 49. This speech gives a truthful summary of the facts, except in one particular—the Persians were not cowardly.

They had refused and felt in consequence that a state of war now existed between them and Persia. They, therefore, sent twenty ships to help the Ionians, and their neighbour, Eretria, sent five.

141. The Suppression of the Revolt (498-494 B.C.). — The allies captured and burned Sardis, the most important city under Persian control in Asia Minor. Then, as they were on their way back to Ionia, the Persians attacked and defeated them near Ephesus. This repulse so thoroughly discouraged the Athenians that they returned home and would give no more help.

The burning of Sardis encouraged the rest of the Asiatic Greeks to join in the revolt, but at the same time stirred Darius to greater exertions for putting it down, and angered him especially against Athens and Eretria. The decisive battle of the war was fought at La'de, off Miletus (497 B.C.). The Greeks had three hundred and fifty-three ships; the Phoenicians in the service of Persia had six hundred. Yet the Greeks would certainly have won the day if they had shown the right spirit; but they were disunited and allowed themselves to be influenced by secret agents from the enemy. At the very opening of the battle, many ships treacherously sailed away, and though a few remained and fought bravely, the battle was lost. United resistance was now at an end, and the separate states were subdued one by one or surrendered to avoid attack. The Persians brought the war to a close by the capture of Miletus (494 B.C.), after a siege of four years. They plundered and burned the city, together with its temples, and carried the people into captivity. Thus they blotted out of existence the fairest city of Hellas, the city which up to this time had done most in building up European civilization. Though it was again inhabited by Greeks, it never regained its former splendour.

The expedition of Darius into Europe¹ had resulted in the conquest of Thrace, which, however, rebelled in imitation of the Ionians. After suppressing the Ionic revolt, the Persians

immediately proceeded against Thrace. As the Phoenician fleet approached Chersonese, Miltiades, the ruler, fled in his triremes¹ loaded with wealth. Though the Phoenicians hotly pursued him, he came safe to Athens.

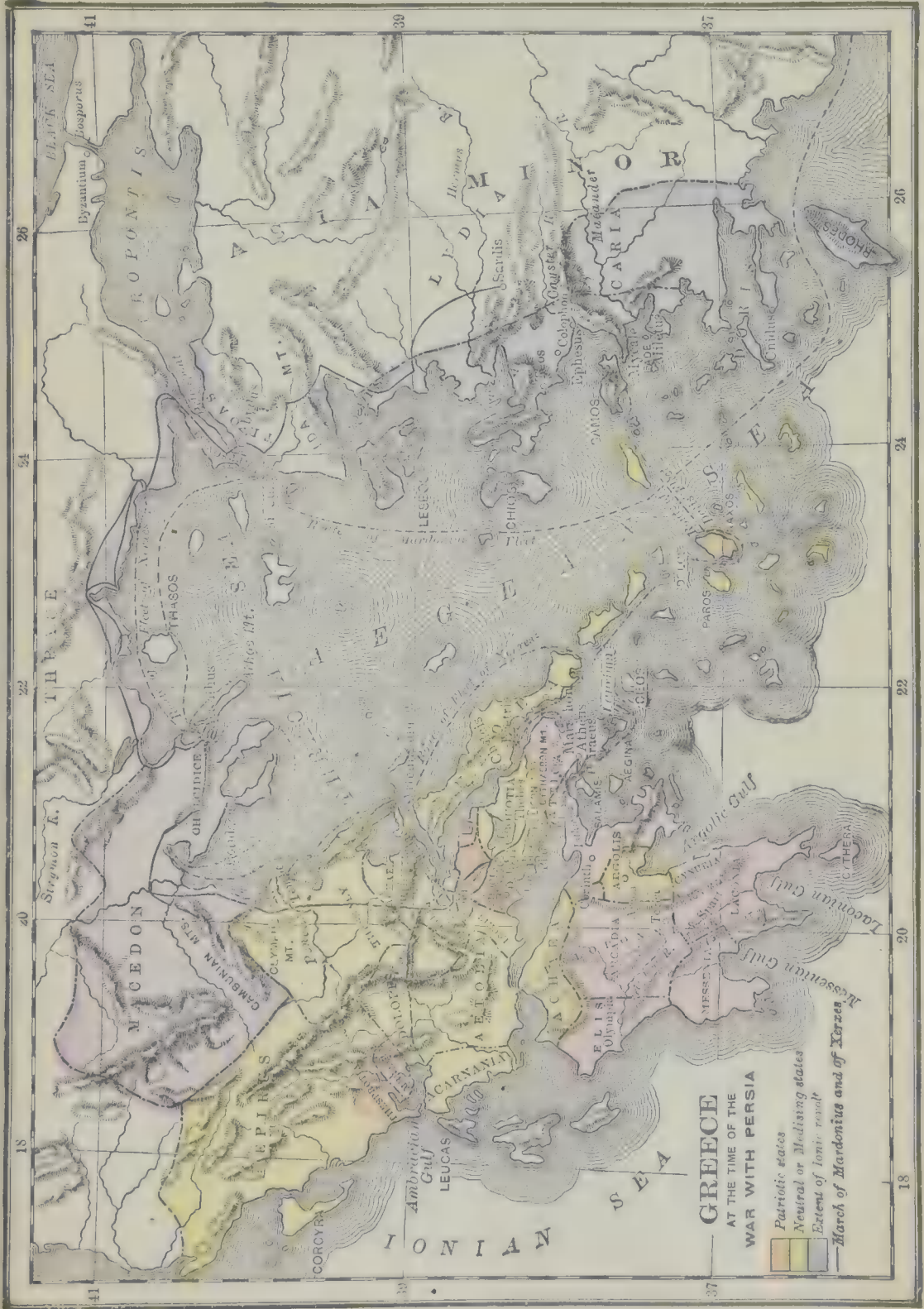
142. Effect of the War on Athens.—Miltiades found his native city greatly disturbed by the recent events in Ionia. A strong party led by Hipparchus, a near kinsman of Hippias, wished to secure peace with Darius by recalling the exiled tyrant, and if need be, by sending the king "earth and water", the tokens of submission. Opposed to the tyrant's party were the republicans, who upheld the form of government established by Cleisthenes, and were ready to fight for their country against Persia. As Archon for 493 B.C. they elected Themis'to-cles, their leader, a man of wonderful energy and intelligence. Heretofore the Athenians had moored their ships in the open bay of Phal-e'rum, but Themistocles occupied his term of office in making the triple harbour of Pi-rae'us ready for a navy. He believed that war with Persia could not be avoided and intended that Athens should have a navy-yard and a powerful fleet; for it would be necessary to meet not only the Persian army on land, but also the combined fleets of the Phoenicians and the Asiatic Greeks on the sea.

143. Was Hellas ready for War with Persia? (about 493 B.C.).—Hellas was to be at a great disadvantage in the coming war with Persia, because her states could not bring themselves to act together. In most of them were strong factions which favoured the Persians. Many of them immediately yielded through fear. Commercial jealousy of Athens prompted Aegina to send earth and water to the king; through dislike of Sparta, Argos favoured the Persian cause. Within the Peloponnesian League alone was unity. In addition to most of the Peloponnesian states, this League now included Athens, and within the next few years it was to be joined by several minor states in central Greece and the neighbouring islands.² And yet in territory, in number of fighting men, and in wealth, the League, even when most widely extended, was insignificant in

¹ For a description of the trireme see § 150, n. 1.

² § 152

comparison with the Persian empire. Darius supposed that he had only to send a great army into Greece to crush all resistance in a single campaign; and so it seemed to many Greeks. But the contest did not prove so unequal as many imagined it would. The Persians were at a disadvantage in fighting far from their base of supplies; and the Hellenic arms and military organization were vastly superior to the Persian. It is a fact, too, that the system of city-states, when at its best, is the strongest possible for resistance. An empire may be overthrown in a single battle; but a union of little city-states, when fighting for independence in a country like Greece, is well-nigh unconquerable.



of Macedon. The failure of his enterprise brought him into disgrace at the Persian court.

Darius now made ready another expedition, meanwhile sending heralds among those Greek communities which were still free, to demand "earth and water". There was no need, Darius thought, of attacking those who would willingly submit. The Athenians, however, threw the king's herald into a pit, and the Spartans dropped the one who came to them into a well, bidding them take earth and water thence to their lord. These acts violated the international law which made the persons of heralds sacred. Those Athenians and Spartans who advised this course of conduct must have felt that the Persian king would never forgive such an outrage, and that its perpetration would commit their own states to a life-and-death struggle.

146. Beginning of the Second Expedition (490 B.C.).—After the failure of Mardonius, the conquest of Greece became with Darius a question of honour. But his unfortunate experience taught him that the land route was too long and difficult. It required months to make this journey, whereas a fleet could sail directly across the Aegean in a few days. This was the route which he chose, accordingly, for the second expedition. In the summer of 490 B.C. the fleet of six hundred ships, which had long been preparing, moved westward across the sea, receiving the submission of the islanders on the way. Da'tis, a Mede, and Ar-ta-pher'nes, a kinsman of Darius, were in command. Their object was to punish Athens and Eretria for helping the Ionian revolt and to conquer whatever territory they could for their lord.

First the Persians besieged Eretria. After a brave defence of six days, it was betrayed by two citizens. Eretrian fugitives who brought the sad news to Athens found the city full of the spirit of resistance. Her heavy infantry was well trained in the use of arms.¹ It was a happy omen, too, for Athens that among her generals for the year was Miltiades, who had proved his ability as ruler of Chersonese and was well acquaint-

¹ § 101.

ed with Persian warfare. As soon as he and the other generals heard that the enemy were moving against Attica, they gathered their entire force and despatched Phi-dip'pi-des, a swift long-distance runner, to Sparta to ask help. He reached Sparta, a hundred and fifty miles distant, the day after starting. "Men of Lacedaemon", he said to the authorities, "the Athenians beseech you to hasten to their aid, and not allow that state which is the most ancient in all Greece to be enslaved by the barbarians. Eretria, look you, is already carried away captive, and Greece weakened by the loss of no mean city".¹ The Lacedaemonians, though they wished to help the Athenians, had to wait several days before setting out, as a law forbade them to go to war in any month before the full moon.

147. The Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.). — After sacking Eretria, the Persians, under the guidance of the aged Hippias,² landed at Marathon. The Athenian army, led by the polemarch and the ten generals, went to meet them. It encamped above the plain, on a height which covered the principal road to Athens. The Athenian phalanx now consisted of ten thousand men, and was reinforced by a few soldiers from Plataea, a friendly city of Boeotia. The Persians were superior in number, but we do not know how many they were.³ Their great advantage, however, was that even in their contests with the Greeks they had never lost a battle. When the Athenians saw themselves outnumbered and failed to receive the expected help from Sparta, they thought of returning home without a contest, to make a defence behind the walls of the city. In the council of war five generals voted for retreat and five for battle. It remained for the polemarch to cast the deciding vote. Thereupon Miltiades urged him to decide for battle, explaining the advantages of an immediate contest and the hopelessness of a long resistance within the city. The polemarch was convinced. It was agreed that Miltiades, the most experienced general, should have the command.

¹ Herodotus, vi. 106

² §§ 114, 119

³ Certain writers who lived centuries after the event give various estimates, from 200,000 to 600,000. None of these figures are trustworthy. The only basis even for a rough calculation is the number of ships in the fleet, and we have no certain knowledge of their capacity. Estimates of modern writers run from 60,000 down to about 15,000.

He waited till the Persians began their advance with a view to forcing their way to Athens. He knew well that their strength lay in long-distance fighting with the bow, whereas



A PERSIAN ARCHER

that of the phalanx was in a hand-to-hand struggle. When, accordingly, the opposing armies got within bow-shot of each other, Miltiades ordered the Athenians to charge at a double-quick march, so as to avoid the shower of arrows and bring their own strength to bear as speedily as possible upon the enemy. The Persians, who had no defence against the spear-thrust, fled to their ships, and the victory was won. The great tactic principle employed was the discovery of Miltiades. The Greeks never forgot it.

This was perhaps the most important battle yet fought in the history of the world. In the wars among the great powers of the Orient, it made little difference to the world which gained the victory, they were so nearly alike in character and civilization. The same may be said of the petty strife always going on among the Greek states. But at Marathon, Europe and Asia, represented by Greece and Persia respectively, came into conflict; and the question at issue was whether Europe should be brought under the control of Asiatic government and Asiatic ideas. In other words, the question was whether Europe was to have Greek freedom or Asiatic despotism. It was well for the future of the world, therefore, that the

Greeks triumphed at Marathon. They were no braver than the Persians; but their freedom gave them spirit, and their intelligence provided them with superior arms, organization, and training. The victory encouraged Greece to hope for success in the greater conflict with Persia, which was soon to come, and inspired the Athenians ever afterward to brave danger in the forefront of Hellas.

II. AN INTERVAL OF PREPARATION

148. The Disgrace of Miltiades.—Miltiades now stood at the summit of fame. He thought the present moment favourable for building up the Athenian power and wealth at the expense of the islanders who had sided with the king. So he planned an expedition against Paros and asked the Athenians for ships and men, promising to make them rich, but not telling them just what he intended to do. He sailed with his fleet to Paros and demanded a contribution of a hundred talents. As the Parians refused to pay anything, he besieged them without effect for nearly a month, and then returned wounded to Athens, to disappoint the hopes of all. His enemies found in his failure an opportunity to assail him. Xan-thip'pus, leader of the republican party,¹ prosecuted him for having deceived the people. The penalty would have been death; but because of Miltiades' great services to the state it was lightened to a fine of fifty talents. He died of his wound, and the fine was paid by his son Cimon.

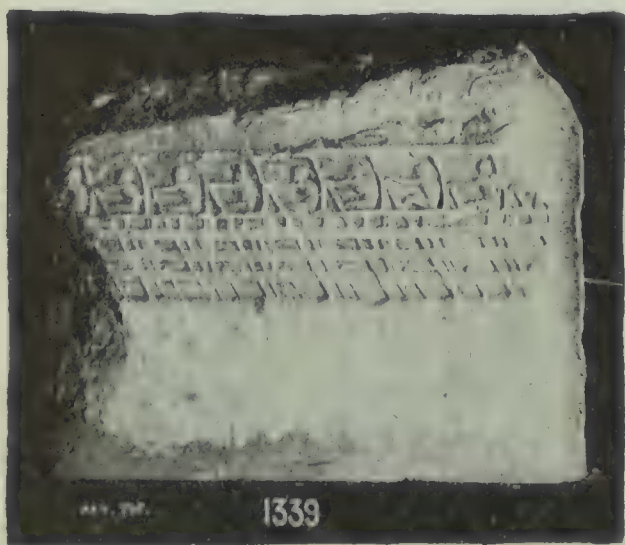
149. The Government becomes more Democratic.—The republicans gathered strength from the victory at Marathon and even from the overthrow of Miltiades. By ostracizing successively the most prominent friends of Hippias,² they utterly disorganized the tyrant's faction. Meanwhile they dealt the nobles a heavy blow by changing the mode of appointment to the nine archonships. Before 487 B.C. the archons had been elected; henceforth they were to be appointed by lot. The change degraded these old aristocratic offices by opening them to men of inferior ability. From this time the polemarch

¹ § 142

² §§ 114, 119, 147

ceased to have even nominal command of the army, and the ten generals took the place of the nine archons as the chief magistrates. On this issue the citizens were divided into conservatives, who were opposed to changing the government, and democrats, who wished to make it more liberal. These were to be the Athenian political parties of the future.

150. Aristides and Themistocles; the Building of a Navy.—Meanwhile the state had been deriving considerable income



A TRIREME

from the silver mines which it owned at Lau'ri-um in south-eastern Attica. A dispute as to the best way of using this revenue arose between Ar-is-ti'des and Themistocles, the two leaders of the democratic party. Aristides, satisfied with the army which had won the battle of Marathon, was evidently willing that the old

custom of dividing the revenues among the citizens should continue. Themistocles, on the other hand, was determined that Athens should have a navy to protect her from the Persian attacks by sea. It had long been in his mind that Persia could not provision a force large enough to conquer Greece unless she held command of the sea. Thence he reasoned that Athens, by using her silver for building a powerful navy, could outmatch the fleets in the Persian service, and in this way save Greece. Aristides was ostracized.

The friends of Aristides called him "the Just" and tried to fasten on Themistocles the opposite character, while the friends of Themistocles retorted in kind. We often meet with the same hero-worship and the same vilification in mod-

ern politics. A careful study of the facts seems to prove that these two men were much alike in moral character. In genius Themistocles was vastly superior. After putting down the opposition, he carried his plan through the assembly. The state built two hundred triremes,¹ which proved to be the chief means of winning a great naval victory over the Persians and of making Athens the head of a maritime empire. Measured by its far-reaching effects upon Greece and the world, the creation of an Athenian navy by Themistocles was one of the grandest achievements of statesmanship known to ancient history.

III. THE THIRD EXPEDITION

151. Preparations for the Invasion.—Darius was more troubled by the failure at Marathon than he had been by the destruction of Sardis, and was now more than ever bent on the conquest of Greece. Accordingly, he began preparations on a grander scale than ever. When he died (485 B.C.), his son and successor Xerxes, after a little hesitation, threw his whole soul into the work. The land route, undertaken by Mardonius, was to be followed, but the army and fleet were to be so gigantic as to crush every opposition by mere weight. Provisions were stored at convenient points along the route, and the engineers of the king were busily engaged in constructing a bridge of boats across the Hellespont. Rarely in history has a campaign been so carefully prepared. In the spring of 481 B.C. the nations of his empire were pouring their armed forces into Asia Minor, and the autumn of the year found Xerxes with his host encamped for the winter at Sardis. We do not know how large his army was, but it certainly did not exceed three hundred thousand troops.² On the sea was a great fleet

¹ Vessels with three banks of oars. See the ancient illustration. The benches of the oarsmen were arranged in three tiers, one above the other. Each tier required an oar about a yard longer than the one below it. On the trireme were about 200 rowers. Few states at this time had triremes, but they soon became the normal "battleship". In later time, vessels with five and six banks of oars became common, and we hear of some with fifteen and sixteen banks. The latter must have been difficult to manage.

² According to Herodotus, it contained 1,700,000 infantry, besides cavalry, reinforcements added along the march, and camp-followers more numerous than fighters, making a total of more than 5,000,000. Modern estimates range from 300,000 down to 50,000. The number of ships given by Herodotus, 1207, is also believed by modern scholars to be an exaggeration. There is no doubt, however, of its superiority to that of the Greeks.

manned by Greeks, Phoenicians, and Egyptians. The invasion was to bring Greece into great peril; for Xerxes hoped to win by sheer force of numbers.

152. Union of the Loyal Greeks.—While Xerxes was in camp at Sardis, his messengers came to the Greek states demanding earth and water and received these tokens of submission from many of them. But none came to Athens and Sparta, as they were to be punished for their treatment of the heralds sent by Darius. A council of the loyal states met on the Isthmus to plan for the defence of Greece. This union was practically an enlargement of the Peloponnesian League, under the leadership of Sparta. The states represented in the council agreed under oath to wage war in common for the protection of their liberties. They also reconciled their enmities with one another and sent envoys to the other Greek states to invite them to join the League. Most of the states found various excuses for refusing the invitation.

The plan of the allies was to build a wall across the Isthmus of Corinth and to make their main defence there. It was a narrow policy, directed by the Lacedaemonian ephors. As Xerxes approached the Hellespont in the spring of 480 B.C., the allies made a feeble attempt to defend Thessaly against him by posting an army in the Vale of Tempe. On the withdrawal of this army, the Thessalians went over to the enemy.

153. The Battles of Thermopylae and Artemisium (480 B.C.).—To prevent central Greece from following the example of the Thessalians, the ephors sent King Le-on'i-das with three hundred heavy-armed Spartans and a few thousand allies to hold the pass of Ther-mop'y-lae, and thus shut Xerxes out from central Greece. They professed to believe that he could hold the pass till the Olympic games were over. Then, they said, they would take the field in full force. The fleet, comprising the squadrons of the various cities of the League, sailed to Ar-te-mis'i-um to co-operate with the army at Thermopylae. Each squadron was under its own admiral, and the whole fleet was commanded by the Spartan Eu-ry-bi'a-des.

The Persians failed to carry Leonidas' position by assault,

for their numbers did not count in the narrow pass.* The discipline of the Greeks, their strong defensive armour, and their long spears might have held the hordes of Xerxes in check for an indefinite time, had not the Persians gained the rear of the pass through the treachery of a Greek. Most of the allies then withdrew; but Leonidas, with his three hundred Spartans and a few allies, remained and prepared for a death struggle. The contrast between the Greeks and the Orientals was at its height at Thermopylae: on one side, the Persian officers scourged their men to battle; on the other, the Spartans voluntarily met their death in obedience to law. "The Lacedaemonians are the best of all men when fighting in a body; for though free, yet they are not free in all things, since over them is set law as a master. They certainly do whatever that master commands; and he always bids them not flee in battle from any multitude of men, but stay at their post, and win the victory or lose their lives."¹ The dead were buried where they fell, and above the three hundred was placed this epitaph: "Stranger, tell the Lacedaemonians that we lie here in obedience to their laws".

Meanwhile a storm off the Magnesian coast had destroyed a third of the Persian navy. This enormous loss to the enemy encouraged the wavering admirals of Greece to maintain their station at Artemisium; and though they learned that the Persians had sent two hundred ships round Euboea to cut off their retreat, they were now ready for battle. After the Greeks had destroyed or captured several Persian vessels, night closed the engagement. Fortunately for the Greeks, another storm wrecked the hostile squadron in their rear, and thus enabled them to concentrate their whole fleet of over three hundred ships against the enemy. On the following day, accordingly, the two navies in full force put to sea against each other. The battle was indecisive; but the Greeks lost so heavily that their admirals had already resolved to retreat when a messenger came with news of the defeat at Thermopylae. It was now clear that the fleet could no longer maintain its position.

¹ Herodotus, vii. 104

154. The March of Xerxes to Athens.—Xerxes was now moving through central Greece toward Athens. Nearly all the states west of Attica submitted and sent their troops to reinforce his army. The men of Delphi, according to their own account, hid the treasures of Apollo in a cave and prepared to resist the Persian corps which had come to pillage their temple; then some god aided them by bringing a thunder-storm and hurling great crags down Mount Parnassus upon the advancing enemy. In this way, they said, Apollo defended his holy shrine.

The Greek fleet paused at Sal'a-mis to help the Athenians remove their families and property to places of safety. This was their last resource, as the Peloponnesians were bent on defending only Peloponnesians. Indeed, the other admirals wished to hurry on to the Isthmus; but Themistocles would not go with his fleet, and the others felt they could not afford to lose it. On entering his city Themistocles found it in despair. Some time before this the Athenians had sent to consult the Delphic oracle with respect to the approaching war, and a dreadful answer had come foretelling utter ruin. The Athenian messengers besought a more favourable reply, saying they would remain in the shrine till their death if it were not granted. Then the god grew merciful and promised that the "wooden wall" would save them.

155. The Battle of Salamis (480 B.C.).—Some thought that the "wooden wall" was the fence about the Acropolis; but Themistocles said that it meant the ships, and thus he induced the Athenians to quit their homes and place all their hopes in the fleet. Themistocles was the soul of the resistance to Persia. His resourceful mind supplied courage, unity, and religious faith. He was now determined that the battle between Asia and Europe should be fought in the Bay of Salamis. First, he exhausted the resources of eloquence and argument to persuade the admirals that here was the most favourable place for the fight; but when arguments and even threats failed, he secretly advised the enemy to block the Greeks up in the bay. This message he conveyed to Xerxes by a trusty slave, who

was instructed to say that the Greeks were disunited and ready to flee, and that Themistocles, wishing well to the king, advised him to cut off their retreat. By following his advice Xerxes compelled the Greeks to fight. The three hundred and seventy-eight Greek triremes, nearly half of which were manned by Athenians, had to face a much greater fleet. But in the narrow strait superiority in number was a disadvantage—closely crowded together, the enemy's ships were unable to manœuvre, and even wrecked one another by collision. Among the Athenian warriors was the poet Aes'chy-lus¹ who gives a vivid and accurate account of the struggle. In this poem he represents the speaker as a Persian:

First their [the Greek] right wing moved in order meet;
Next the whole lines its forward course began,
And all at once we heard a mighty shout,—
“O sons of Hellenes, forward, free your country;
Free too your wives, your children, and the shrines
Built to your fathers' Gods, and holy tombs
Your ancestors now rest in. Now the fight
Is for our all!” And on our side indeed
Arose in answer din of Persian speech,
And time to wait was over: ship on ship
Dashed its bronze-pointed beak; and first a barque
Of Hellas did the encounter fierce begin,
And from Phœnician vessel crashes off
Her carved prow. And each against his neighbour
Steers his own ship: and first the mighty flood
Of Persian host held out. But when the ships
Were crowded in the straits, nor could they give
Help to each other, they with their mutual shocks,
With beaks of bronze went crushing each the other,
Shivering their rowers' benches. And the ships
Of Hellas, with manœuvring not unskilful,
Charged circling round them. And the hulls of ships
Floated capsized, nor could the sea be seen,
Filled, as it was, with wrecks and carcasses;
And all the shores and rocks were full of corpses,
And every ship was wildly rowed in fight,
All that composed the Persian armament.

Xerxes, who viewed the battle from the brow of a hill near the shore, was disheartened by the overthrow of his fleet. He returned to Asia, leaving the greater part of his force with

¹ See § 189

Mardonius. Although the fleet dared no longer face the Greeks, it still kept communications open between Asia Minor and the army.¹ Mardonius was therefore able during the following winter to maintain himself in Greece. The real crisis was yet to come.

156. The Battles of Plataea and Mycale (479 B.C.).—The invaders had destroyed Athens; so that when the Athenians returned to their city they found it in ruins. Though they might during the winter have made good terms with the enemy,



they remained loyal to Hellas, only urging that the Peloponnesian army should be displayed as soon as possible in Boeotia. In the spring of 479 B.C. Mardonius moved from his winter quarters in Thessaly into central Greece, and the Athenians again abandoned their city. Some of the Peloponnesians were at home; others were busy working on the Isthmian wall, behind which they still planned to make their defence. With urging and threats the Athenians finally induced the ephors of Sparta to put forth their whole military strength in defence of central Greece. Pau-sa'ni-as, regent for the young

¹ After the battle Themistocles advised the Greeks to sail instantly to the Hellespont, destroy the bridge, and thus cut the communication of Xerxes with his base of supplies. The move would have ended the war, but the other admirals considered it too bold.

son of Leonidas, brought to the Isthmus five thousand heavy-armed Spartans, as many heavy-armed perioeci, and forty thousand light-armed helots. There the allied troops from Peloponnese joined him, and at Eleusis he was further reinforced by eight thousand Athenians under Aristides. Herodotus estimates the Persian army at three hundred thousand, the Greek at a little more than one hundred thousand.¹ Mardonius retired to Boeotia, and Pausanias followed him. The Persians encamped north-east of Pla-tae'a on a level spot which would give room for the movements of their cavalry. The Greek commander took a position on a height above them; but, encouraged by a successful skirmish with the Persian horsemen, he came down to the plain and placed himself between the enemy and Plataea. There the armies faced each other twelve days, neither daring to open battle. But, after the Persian cavalry had damaged a spring on which the Greeks depended for water, Pausanias decided to retire in the night to a more favourable position near Plataea. Mardonius, who thought this movement a retreat, made haste to attack. When the Persians overtook the Greeks and saw them face about, they made a barricade of their long shields by fastening the lower ends in the ground, and from behind this defence they poured their destructive arrows upon the Greeks. The critical moment had come; Pausanias gave the word, and his men rushed at full speed upon the foe. In the hand-to-hand fight here, as at Marathon, the athletic soldiers of Greece easily overcame the ill-armed, unskilful men of Asia.

In the summer of the same year, the Greek fleet was tempted across the Aegean by the Samians, who wished to revolt against Persia. About the time of the battle at Plataea—Herodotus says on the same day—the crews of the Greek vessels landed at Myc'a-le and gained a victory over a greatly superior force of the Persians. The battle of Plataea freed continental Greece from fear of Persian conquest; that at Mycale pointed unmistakably to the liberation from Persian influence of the whole Aegean region east and north.

¹ Probably the forces were considerably smaller than he states.

157. The Significance of the Victory.—The Persians were essentially Oriental. Though originally a fresh, virile race of mountaineers, they were rapidly adopting the culture of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley. The war with Persia, therefore, involved the question whether the Greeks should be brought more or less directly under Babylonian influence. In a larger sense it was a question whether Orientals or Greeks should dominate the civilization of Europe, whether that continent was to pursue an independent development or become a mere appanage of Asia. The result, all-decisive and immeasurably more far-reaching than the contemporary Greeks dreamed of, signified that it lay in their hands to determine for the future the cultural progress of the world.

The success of the few Hellenes over the vastly superior force of invaders could have in the Greek mind but one explanation. "The might of God is above theirs, and often in the midst of evils it raises up the helpless, even when clouds of perplexing distress hang over our eyes."¹ The conflict left an effect on government. As freedom had won, it was inevitable that she should grow and thrive on her success. In older Hellas and in the Western colonies tyrannies and oligarchies gave way to democracy, and democratic constitutions took on more popular forms. Victory wrought her spell also on the relations among Hellenic states. It was a noble thought, born of the battle of Plataea, that Hellas should form a grand, everlasting federation, at peace with herself and exercising her weapons against none but foreigners.² But the common foe was too badly beaten, and Hellenic particularism was too strong, to permit the dream to come true. The consciousness of racial unity grew; interstate politics, developing beyond narrow cantonal beginnings, became world politics; the Greeks took their place as the dominant power in the Mediterranean basin; but after a time the feuds and rivalries, hushed by the great peril, broke out afresh, and through continual wars gradually sapped the strength of the nation.

¹ Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes*, 226 ff.

² Plutarch, *Aristides*, 21

One of the most obvious effects of the war was to heroize the victors. What were the deeds of the Achaeans round Troy compared with the prowess of Marathon and Salamis and Plataea, where a few patriots, relying on the gods and their own valour, had trampled on the strength of the mightiest of empires? They were demi-gods who fell at Thermopylae, where their epitaph¹ informed the visitor: "Theirs is a fair-famed lot and envied death, their tomb a shrine; instead of tears is remembrance of their deeds, in place of lamentation, glory". Demi-gods, too, were those who survived in proud consciousness of their own strength to work out a nobler destiny for their race. As time elapsed, the memory of their achievements brightened, till the entire conflict radiated a superhuman glory. A patriot² of the fourth century B.C. writes: "Methinks the war must have been contrived by some God in admiration for their bravery, that men of such quality might not remain obscure or end their lives in humble state, but might be deemed worthy of the same rewards as those sons of heaven whom we call demi-gods; for even their bodies the Deity rendered up to the unyielding laws of nature, but immortalized the memory of their valour".

IV. THE WAR WITH CARTHAGE

I58. The Condition of Sicily.—We shall now turn our attention to the war which the western Greeks were meanwhile waging with Carthage. First, however, it is necessary to glance at the condition of Sicily at the opening of the war. The colonies established there³ had attained great wealth and prosperity. All had once been aristocratic in government, but had more recently fallen under the rule of tyrants. The ablest among them was Gelon, ruler of Syracuse, who made his city the largest and strongest in the island. All south-eastern Sicily came under his authority. He increased his power still further by marrying the daughter of Theron, tyrant of Acragas. While the great cities of southern Sicily were thus uniting under the rule of a single family, a similar combination

¹ Composed by Simonides

² Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 84

³ § 77

was taking place among the states of the north. Rhegium, Messene, and Himera were united by the intermarriage of their ruling families. Then came a conflict between the North and the South. The tyrant of Himera¹ was driven from his city. Escaping to the Carthaginians, he begged them to restore him to his throne. In this way he played the part of a Hippias.

I59. The Battle of Himera (480 B.C.).—The Phoenicians, who had founded Carthage, were originally an industrial and trading people, with little taste for war. But to defend their commercial position in the western Mediterranean they had recently begun on a large scale to hire troops from foreign countries. With her great army of mercenaries Carthage now aimed to win back the lands she had been compelled to yield to the Greeks. About the time that Xerxes was crossing the Hellespont, and probably in agreement with him, Ham-il'car, king of Carthage, landing with his army in Sicily, advanced toward Him'e-ra. He was met and defeated near Himera by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, with the help of allies from southern Sicily. The story is told that all day long, as the battle raged, the prophet-king of Carthage stood apart from his host, offering victims to the gods, and that at last, to appease the angry powers who seemed to be siding with the foe, he threw himself a living sacrifice into the flame.

The victory at Himera led to a treaty between the western Greeks and Carthage, according to which both parties were to retain their former possessions.

¹ This was Terillus, father-in-law of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium and Messene.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DELIAN CONFEDERACY AND THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

479-461 B.C.

160. Fortification of Athens and of Piraeus (479, 476 B.C.).

—As soon as all danger from the Persians was over, the Athenians returned home and began to rebuild their city and its walls. They had sacrificed more than all the other Greeks together in the cause of Hellenic freedom. But instead of sympathizing with them in their misfortune, some of the Greek states, doubtless through jealousy, complained of Athens to Sparta and asked that the building of the defences be stopped. It was urged that the Athenian walls would be merely a protection to the Persians on another invasion and that Peloponnese would afford a sufficient refuge for all. The Spartan ephors acted readily on the suggestion. They sent envoys who advised the Athenians to stop fortifying their city and to join the Lacedaemonians rather in tearing down the walls of all the communities north of the Isthmus of Corinth. The policy of Lacedaemon was evidently to rule Greece if convenient and to protect only Peloponnese; but the Athenians would not submit to an arrangement so unjust. As they were in no condition to face a Peloponnesian army, the resourceful Themistocles provided a way out of the difficulty.

Following his advice, the Athenians appointed him and two others ambassadors to Sparta to discuss the question at issue. Before setting out, he directed the Athenians to build the wall with the utmost speed. Following his advice, the whole population worked restlessly on the building of the walls, using whatever material they could most easily find. Some remnants of the fortification, still extant, contain gravestones and fragments of earlier buildings. It embraced a wider area

than had formerly been inclosed, the object being to give the city room for expansion. Though hastily constructed, the wall proved strong enough for every emergency.

Meanwhile Themistocles had a work to do at Sparta. Day after day he invented excuses for delaying the business on hand. When a report came that the Athenians were at work on the fortifications, he stoutly denied it and urged the ephors to send envoys to Athens to find out the truth for themselves. They did as he suggested; but the Athenians, secretly advised by Themistocles, detained the envoys. When at last he heard that the work was finished, he informed the ephors that Athens was now fortified and that Sparta must treat her as an equal. It was a bold game well played. The ephors replied that their proposal to Athens had been intended merely as friendly advice. The outcome of the matter was that, although the Spartans were thoroughly indignant with Themistocles, the alliance between the two states remained intact.¹

As soon as the Athenians had finished rebuilding their city, Themistocles began to fortify Piraeus. He surrounded it with a massive wall seven miles in circuit. On the side toward the sea it followed the windings of the shore. There were three natural harbours, which Themistocles in his archonship many years earlier had brought into use.² He was in fact the founder of Piraeus. It soon became famous for industry and trade. In its markets all the known products of the world were bought and sold. For ages it remained one of the most flourishing commercial cities of the Mediterranean.

161. The Naval Leadership passes from Sparta to Athens.—While the Athenians were rebuilding and fortifying their city and port, interesting events were happening elsewhere. The year after the battles of Plataea and Mycale the Lacedaemonians sent out Pausanias to command the fleet of the allies in their war for the liberation of the colonies. He laid siege to Byzantium, which was still occupied by the enemy (478 B.C.); but while engaged in this work he offered to betray Greece

into Persian hands on condition that he might become tyrant of his country and son-in-law of the king. Meantime he was cruel and arrogant to those under his authority. The Asiatic Greeks who had joined the expedition, resenting such treatment, begged the Athenian generals, Aristides and Cimon,¹ to take charge of the fleet. The gentleness and courtesy of the commanders from Athens contrasted strikingly with the brutality of Pausanias. They accepted the invitation. The Lacedaemonians recalled Pausanias to answer the charges against him and soon afterward yielded the leadership at sea to Athens. They saw no advantage to themselves in continuing the war with Persia, and believed that they would lose none of their prestige by this arrangement, for Athens was still their ally. The Athenians, on the other hand, gladly accepted the burden of the war with Persia, for they hoped by means of their great navy to gain both wealth and political power.

162. Organization of the Delian Confederacy (477 B.C.).—The allies whom Athens thus acquired included from the first nearly all the Ionian and Aeolian colonies of the Aegean islands and eastern coast,² many Greek cities on the Hellespont, those of Chalcidice, and a few in Thrace. Some of them, as Naxos, Thasos, Samos, and Chios, were from the Greek point of view important states, able to equip and man about thirty triremes each, whereas the great majority were too small to equip individually a single trireme, or at best but one or two. These wide differences in their financial and military capacities, added to the love of the towns for complete independence, made it exceedingly difficult for them to form a self-governing union on the basis of perfect equality. Such a union, however, Athens now attempted to organize. Each state had an equal voice. The council deliberated on all matters of common interest, whether of peace or of war.

The object of the Confederacy was chiefly the protection of the allies from Persia. It centred at the shrine of Apollo on the island of De'los, and was named therefore the Delian

¹ § 148

² § 43 f.

Confederacy. Its organization was patterned after that of the Peloponnesian League.¹ The allies were to furnish ships and crews led by Athenian generals, and a congress of deputies from all the allied states was to meet at Delos under the presidency of representatives from Athens. In important respects the Confederacy of Delos differed from the Peloponnesian League. It was necessary to maintain a large fleet in the Aegean Sea as a defence against the Persians, whereas no standing force was needed for the protection of Peloponnese. Money is absolutely necessary for the support of a fleet; hence the Delian Confederacy, unlike the Peloponnesian League, levied annual taxes. Aristides, who was commissioned to make the first assessment, decided which states should furnish ships with their crews, and which should contribute money. The larger communities generally provided naval forces, while the smaller paid taxes. The total annual cost of maintaining the Confederacy amounted, by the assessment of Aristides, to four hundred and sixty talents.² The treasury, in the temple of the Delian Apollo, was managed by treasurers who were exclusively Athenians.

The union was to be perpetual. Aristides and the representatives of the league exchanged oaths to abide by the original terms and never to secede. As a part of the oath-taking ceremony they let hot pieces of iron sink into the sea, with the idea that the agreement should be binding till the metal rose of its own accord to the surface.

163. The Growth of the Confederacy.—With Cimon as leader the Delian Confederacy rapidly expanded. He annexed the remaining islands in the north Aegean, and dislodged the Persians from the Thracian coast and from the whole country about the Hellespont and Propontis, including Byzantium. Then he turned his attention to the south-eastern Aegean. In 468 B.C., at the mouth of the Eurym'edon on the coast of Asia Minor, Cimon gained a double victory over a Phoenician fleet and a land force of Persians. It was the most brilliant success of his life. The booty was enormous, and the glory of

¹ § 96

The value of the talent was a little less than \$1200.

Athens was greatly heightened. As a result of this battle, the Carian and Lycian coasts came into the Confederacy of Delos, bringing the number of cities up to about two hundred. The Persians were dislodged from the whole Aegean region, and there was little apparent danger from them for the present.

164. The Revolts of Allies and the Beginning of the Athenian Empire.—But this very feeling of security proved to be extremely mischievous. Many of the allies, finding military service irksome, offered to pay taxes instead. Cimon advised the Athenians to accept these payments, as they could build and equip triremes at less expense than the separate allied towns, and hence could fulfil their agreement to protect the Aegean Sea, give work to the labouring class among themselves, and have money left for their own public use. But some grew tired even of paying the tribute. Indeed, they could no longer see the need of a Confederacy since the Persians had ceased to trouble them.

Even before the battle of Eurymedon, Nax'os took the lead in revolting. It had a strong navy and expected aid from Persia; but Cimon besieged the island and reduced it before help could arrive. The Naxians were compelled to tear down their walls, surrender their fleet, and pay henceforth an annual tribute. Thus Naxos lost its freedom and became dependent on Athens (469 B.C.).

A dependent state within the Confederacy was one which could not enter into relations of any kind with other states except by permission of Athens, and which had to accept a constitution dictated by Athens. The form of government thus imposed was always more or less democratic.

Next came the revolt of Tha'sos, the cause of which was a quarrel between the Athenians and the Thasians over certain gold mines of Thrace, in which both had an interest. Thasos was one of the strongest of the allies; it had a fleet of thirty-three ships and valuable possessions in Thrace. After a siege of two years, Cimon reduced the island and punished it just as he had punished Naxos (463 B.C.).

It is necessary now to consider in what way these transactions violated the original treaty of alliance. The change from naval service to money payments, brought about by mutual agreement, was perfectly legal. And it was the duty of Athens to compel reluctant states to bear their share of the burden. The first violation of the treaty was committed by the states which revolted. Here, too, Athens acted legally in compelling the seceding states to return to their allegiance. She exceeded her right, however, in depriving them of their autonomy. Although still allies in law, the dependent states formed in fact an Athenian empire. As conditions then were, only two lines of policy were open to Athens: she could either allow the Confederacy to dissolve or she would be compelled to convert it into an empire. The latter policy was in every way to her interest, and she readily adopted it. Gradually the states were subjected, till, in the Age of Pericles, the entire Confederacy became an empire.¹ The great majority of citizens in all the allied cities were pleased with the change, as it gave them control of their local governments. But the coercion of a free state offended the sentiment of the Greeks in general, who therefore began to look upon Athens as a tyrant city.

165. Political Parties at Athens and their Relations with Sparta.—The Spartans were accustomed to control the affairs of their allies by interfering in their politics. They always took sides with the conservative party.² In the case of Athens they had been displeased with Themistocles ever since he had outwitted them in regard to the building of the walls.³ In opposition to him they therefore urged Cimon forward as leader of the conservatives. Several prominent men joined Cimon against Themistocles. Representing their great opponent as dangerous to the state, they had him ostracized (about 472 B.C.), and he finally died an exile in Asia Minor.

For a few years after the banishment of Themistocles the Lacedaemonians remained friendly to Athens. But when the battle of Eurymedon had been won, and they saw the vic-

¹Cf. § 171²Cf. § 96³§ 160

torious city continually adding to her possessions and power, fear and jealousy turned them against her. By promising to invade Attica they secretly encouraged the Thasians to hold out against Athens. This agreement, however, they were prevented from fulfilling by a terrible earthquake, which nearly destroyed Sparta. Only a few houses were left standing, and thousands of lives were lost. To add to the misfortune the helots revolted, and in the general confusion caused by earthquake and superstition they nearly captured Sparta by surprise. But most of the perioeci remained loyal, and the shattered city was saved by the promptness of King Ar-chi-da'mus. The insurgents, who were mostly Messenians, seized and fortified, in their own country, Mount Ithome,¹ one of the strongest military positions in Peloponnese. As the Lacedaemonians could accomplish nothing against them single-handed, they asked help of their allies, including the Athenians. When the envoys reached Athens, a hot debate ensued as to whether aid should be sent. After the banishment of Themistocles, the democratic party, believing that Sparta was a dead weight attached to Athens, continued to uphold his policy of cutting loose from Peloponnese. Its leader was now Themistocles' friend, Eph-i-al'tes, a good citizen and an upright statesman. He vehemently opposed the resolution to send assistance to the Lacedaemonians, and advised that "the pride and arrogance of Sparta be trodden under". Cimon, who was present, was of the opposite opinion. In the debate with Ephialtes he urged the Athenians "not to suffer Greece to be lamed or Athens to be deprived of her yoke-mate", meaning that the alliance between these two states should be preserved at every cost. It was his conviction that the strength of Hellas should be united in continual war against Persia. The assembly adopted his proposal and sent him with an army against Ithome.

166. Rupture between Athens and Sparta (462 B.C.) ; Ostracism of Cimon (461 B.C.).—During the absence of Cimon the popular party, led by Ephialtes, held complete control of the government and proceeded to make it more democratic than

it had ever been before¹. Meanwhile the Athenian troops at Ithome were unsuccessful; and the Lacedaemonian authorities, suspecting them of treachery, insolently dismissed them. Cimon returned to Athens an unpopular man. In trying to check the rising tide of democracy, he was met with taunts of overfondness for Sparta. Athens abandoned his policy, broke loose from Sparta, and began to form an alliance of her own, wholly independent of the Peloponnesian League. Cimon's resistance to these new movements caused his ostracism in 461 B.C.

For fifteen years (476-461 B.C.) Cimon had been leading the Athenian fleets to victory or upholding the principles of old Athens against what he believed to be the dangerous tendencies of demagogues, such as Themistocles and Ephialtes; during this time his influence maintained friendship between his city and Sparta and harmony among the states of Greece. Under his patronage Athens advanced beyond all other Hellenic cities in civilization. But with his ostracism the political leadership of his state passed into other hands.

¹ Down to this time, the Council of the Areopagus, a conservative body, had exercised a supervision over the magistrates and over the morals of the citizens (§ 100). Ephialtes, supported by Pericles (see next chapter), deprived it of this power.

CHAPTER XIV
THE AGE OF PERICLES
461-431 B.C.

I. THE IMPERIALISM OF PERICLES

167. Wars with the Peloponnesians and the Boeotians (461-456 B.C.).—After the ostracism of Cimon, Pericles became the leading statesman of his city. He was the son of Xanthippus,¹ a political leader and general of the Persian war, and through his mother he was related to Cleisthenes the lawgiver and to the powerful gens of the Alcmaeonidae. All the statesmen of Athens down to this time had been Eupatrids,² and the family of Pericles was as noble as any in the state. Through his public activities we shall be able to study his character.

Under his guidance Athens deserted the Peloponnesian League, allied herself with Argos and Thessaly, and soon afterward with Megara. The policy of breaking loose from Sparta, which had been advocated by Themistocles and Ephialtes, was now carried out. Hellenic unity, as far as it had been attained, was broken; and Athens openly became the rival of Sparta for political supremacy. It was commercial rivalry, however, which first disturbed the peace. Aegina and Corinth felt cramped in their trade by the rise of Piraeus. Supported by some of their neighbours, these two states declared war. But the Athenians were victorious over their enemies by land and sea. They



PERICLES

(Copied after Cresilas, a Cretan artist of the fifth century, B.C.; British Museum)

¹ § 148

² § 100

then invaded Aegina and laid siege to the city. After a long resistance Aegina surrendered, dismantled her walls, and entered the confederacy as a subject state.

In this struggle Sparta gave her allies no direct help. She preferred to create a strong rival of Athens in Boeotia. Disgraced by submission to Xerxes, Thebes had lost control of Boeotia, and the League of cities under her leadership¹ had dissolved. Sparta now sent a strong Peloponnesian army into Boeotia to restore the League, with Thebes at its head, as a counterpoise to Athens. Thereupon the Athenians marched forth and engaged the Peloponnesians at Tan'a-gra (457 B.C.). In a bloody struggle the Athenians were worsted. As far as we know, this was the first battle fought between Athens and Sparta.

The Peloponnesians now returned home, leaving the Boeotians in the lurch. Two months later the Athenians took the field and defeated the Boeotians at Oe-noph'y-ta (456 B.C.).

168. The Continental Federation (456-447 B.C.); **Egypt and Cyprus.**—Through this victory Athens brought into her alliance all the towns of Boeotia except Thebes; also Phocis, already friendly, and Locris. The Athenians expelled the oligarchs from the Boeotian towns and set up democratic governments favourable to themselves. About the same time Achaea made an alliance with Athens. The Athenians were now at the height of their power. Their Continental Federation² extended from the Isthmus to Thermopylae, and furthermore included not only Argos and Achaea in Peloponnese, but also Nau-pac'tus, an important station controlling the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf. From these events it is clear that Pericles intended to unite as many Hellenic states as possible under the military leadership of Athens.

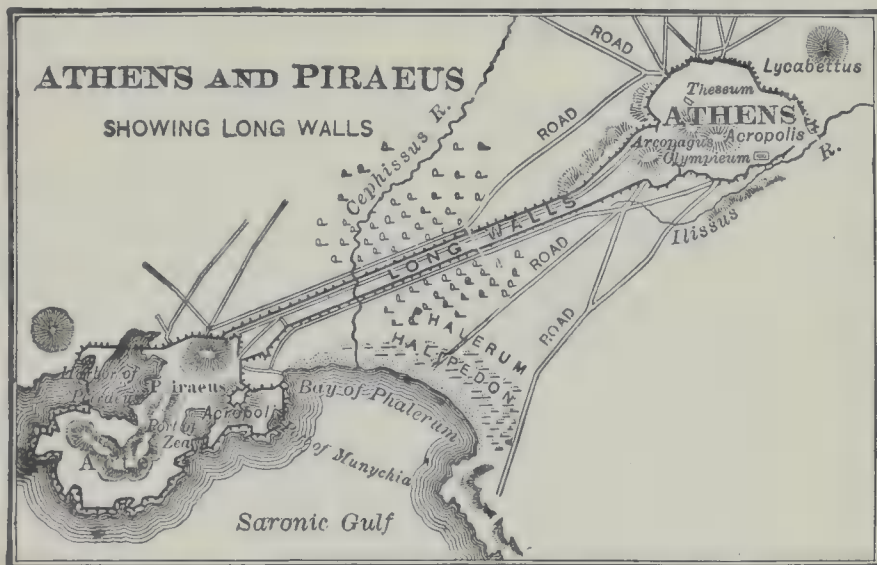
But the Federation which he established on the peninsula came to a sudden end (447 B.C.). The oligarchs whom Athens had driven from the towns of Boeotia returned in force, defeated the Athenians, and compelled them to leave the country. About the same time Athens lost control of Locris, Phocis, and

¹ § 71

² This League is sometimes described less accurately as a "Land Empire".

Megara, and came near losing Euboea. Only the military energy and the diplomacy of Pericles saved the empire at this crisis.

The failure was in fact due to the imperialistic ambition of Pericles, which overtaxed the strength of his country. Egypt had revolted against Persia, and Pericles considered the moment opportune for striking a blow at the national enemy and for gaining a political influence over the rich valley of the Nile. Two hundred and fifty triremes were sent to the help of the Egyptians; but all were destroyed, and few of the crews ever



returned to Athens. Even this terrible misfortune did not deter him from further attacks on Persia. Cyprus revolted against the king; and in 449 B.C. Cimon, recalled some time before from exile, sailed with two hundred triremes to aid in the liberation of that island. But he died on the expedition; and though his fleet destroyed a strong Phoenician armament, the project came to naught. The disaster in Egypt, followed by this unsuccessful enterprise, so exhausted the strength of Athens that she had to adopt a more friendly policy toward her neighbours. She abandoned her Federation on the continent without a struggle, and she opened negotiations for peace with Sparta.

169. The Long Walls.—During these wars with near neighbours Athens was exposed to attacks from her many enemies. While most of her forces were absent on service, it would not have been difficult for a hostile army to invade Attica and in a few days' siege to starve the city into surrender. Pericles guarded against this possibility by building two long walls from Athens to Piraeus, so as to have a fortified way from the city to the port—about four and a half miles distant. They ran parallel to each other, and far enough apart to inclose between them a broad road. In time of danger these "Long Walls" could easily be defended by a few guards, and thus could be maintained a safe passage for the conveyance of supplies and for the march of troops from the port to the city. Henceforth so long as her navy commanded the sea, Athens was secure from siege.¹

170. The Thirty Years' Truce (445 B.C.) ; Peace with Persia.—In 445 B.C. a Truce for Thirty Years was made between the two hostile powers. Each party was to have the right to trade freely in the ports and markets of the other—the "open door" clause. Athens gave up all her continental allies except Plataea and Naupactus. Neither party was to interfere with the allies of the other, but alliances with strangers could be made at pleasure. Athens suffered most by the treaty, as she was not only excluded from Peloponnese, but also lost control of the Corinthian Gulf and the Isthmus. She gained, on the other hand, an acknowledgment of her maritime supremacy.

About the same time friendly relations were established between Athens and Persia, and thereafter they remained at peace with each other for many years.

171. The Change from Confederacy to Empire completed (454 B.C.).—In the preceding chapter we have seen how the allies of Athens were gradually reduced to the condition of subjects.² The change from confederacy to empire was completed by the transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens, probably in 454 B.C. Only the Lesbians, Chians, and Samians, as free and equal allies, retained whatever forms of govern-

¹ The earlier view that there was a third wall extending from Athens to Phalerum has recently been questioned by scholars.

² § 104

ment they desired. Some time afterward Samos revolted and was reduced to subjection. The dependent states were required to make new treaties with Athens by which they agreed to adopt democratic constitutions and to send their important law cases to the imperial city for trial. The tribute from the empire enabled Athens to beautify herself with public works, to encourage literature and art, to provide the citizens with magnificent festivals, to give paid employment to most of her people, and to build and maintain powerful fleets and strong defences. Among the allied states Pericles established many colonies, which, besides serving as garrisons for the protection of the empire, furnished the poorer Athenians with lands. Thus both city and citizens were benefited by the empire.

The allies, too, enjoyed the advantages of peace. Never before or afterward did they have equal opportunity for commerce or for quiet country life. The annual tribute was more than balanced by an increase in wealth and prosperity. The commons, everywhere protected by Athens from the insolence of their own oligarchs, remained faithful. Only the families which had once ruled their communities, and the market-place politicians, were actively engaged in fomenting opposition to the Athenians. Though by no means perfect, the empire was the highest political development which the Greeks had yet reached.

II. THE PERICLEAN DEMOCRACY

172. The Law Courts.—While Pericles was thus engaged in attaching to Athens the common people of the empire by giving them the control of their states and by suppressing the oligarchs, he was no less busy with establishing equal rights for his fellow-citizens. In earlier times the Council of the Areopagus had exercised a parental watch over the government, but it had recently lost this power.¹ Pericles believed the Athenians were no longer children in politics and could now govern themselves. He intended that the people themselves

¹ On the early parental government of this council, see § 100. The democratic reform of 462 B.C. consisted chiefly in depriving the council of this and all other political powers (§ 166, n. 1). It was now merely a court for the trial of wilful murder.

should protect their constitution by means of the supreme court which Solon had established.¹ It was to contain six thousand jurors, who were divided normally into panels, or smaller courts,² of five hundred and one each. As cases were decided by a majority vote, the odd number was to prevent a tie. Originally the archons were judges and the courts simply received appeals from their decisions; but in the time of Pericles the archons had come to be mere clerks, who prepared cases for presentation to the courts and presided over them through the trial, with no power to influence the decision. In other words, the court was a large jury without a judge. As the archons declined, the jurors gained in importance. Their large number made bribery and intimidation difficult. Every person involved in a trial as plaintiff or defendant had to plead his own case. There came to be professional writers of speeches for such occasions, but no real lawyers.³ The Athenians considered these popular courts a necessary protection of the liberty of the common citizens from the oppression of the nobles and the wealthy. They served this purpose well.

The legislative power resided chiefly in these courts. Once a year a special body of sworn jurors met and received from the assembly proposals for new laws, and after hearing them discussed, decided upon them by a majority vote. These legislative jurors were called "law-makers" (*No-moth'e-tae*). Laws thus made were distinguished from the decrees passed by the Council of Five Hundred and the assembly in their management of the current business of government.⁴

The introduction of a fee enabled the poorest citizen to attend to jury service. The pay was that of an unskilled day-labourer. If frugally managed it would buy food for a small family. The jurors had been oarsmen or soldiers in their younger days, and now, for the most part too old to work, they were drawing their juror's fee as a kind of pension, for which, however, they were required to sit on the benches

¹ § 109, VI

² *Di-cas-te'ri-a*, plural of *dicasterion*. Some panels were larger, others smaller, but the number was always odd.

³ § 271

⁴ The laws were *nom'oi*, plural of *nomos*; decrees were *pse-bhis'ma-ta*, plural of *psephisma*.

judging from early morning till late at night. Payment for public duties alone made equality possible; it permitted the poor, equally with the rich, to share in the duties and the benefits of government.

173. The Assembly.—The assembly was composed of all citizens above eighteen years of age who had the leisure and inclination to attend. There were four regular meetings in every *prytany*, or tenth of a year, with as many extraordinary sessions as were thought necessary. One meeting of each *prytany* was occupied with examining the conduct of magistrates; and any one of them who was thought guilty of mismanagement could be deposed and brought to trial before a popular court. All measures brought before the assembly had to be previously considered by the Council of Five Hundred, but the citizens could offer amendments at pleasure. They had no master; they acknowledged no authority but the laws which they and their fathers had made. There was no higher or more dignified office than that of the citizen who attended the assembly and law courts; he was at once a legislator, a judge, and an executive officer. This position of honour and trust made him public-spirited. The Athenian citizen was called upon, as was no other in the ancient world, to find his larger interests in those of the state. In the assembly and in the courts he received an education in law and in statesmanship such as has been granted to but a select few in other states, whether ancient or modern.

174. The Magistrates.—There were fourteen hundred offices, all of annual duration. A few of the more important magistrates were elected by the people in their assembly, the rest were appointed by lot. The people could re-elect a man as often as they pleased, but the places filled by lot could not be repeated.¹

By far the most important magistrates in this century were the generals. They commanded the army and were ministers of war, of the navy, of finance, and of foreign affairs. They

¹ An exception was made in favour of the Council of Five Hundred, the members of which could serve twice, though not in consecutive years.

had to be in constant communication with the assembly. For this purpose the gift of speaking was necessary, and that general who was at the same time an orator was naturally leader of the board. Through this office Pericles ruled Athens and her empire with an authority which surpassed that of kings and tyrants. His power was founded on ability and integrity. "He was able to control the multitude in a free spirit; he led them rather than was led by them; for, not seeking power by dishonest arts, he had no need to say pleasant things, but on the strength of his own high character could venture to oppose and even to anger them. When he saw them unseasonably elated and arrogant, his words humbled and awed them; and when they were depressed by groundless fears, he sought to reanimate their confidence. Thus Athens, though still in name a democracy, was in fact ruled by her greatest citizen."¹

III. SOCIETY AND EDUCATION

175. The Population: Slaves.—In the Age of Pericles the population of Attica was about 350,000. About 150,000 were slaves and 40,000 were resident aliens, leaving about 160,000 citizens, including women and children. These facts show at once that however far advanced Athens was beyond Egypt, her people had not yet adopted the idea of equality for all mankind. The slaves differed from the freemen, not in colour, but simply in nationality. Some were born in the country, but most of them were imported from the parts of Europe north-east of Greece, from Asia Minor, Syria, and more distant lands. As a rule captives in war were reduced to slavery, and when traders could find none of this class to buy up, they often resorted to kidnapping. Every well-to-do Athenian had one or more slaves, and we hear of a certain wealthy man who owned a thousand, whom he let out to work for hire in the silver mines of the country. Slaves did all kinds of work in the house and field, in the mines and workshops. On ships they served as oarsmen. Some were overseers in charge of

¹ Thucydides, ii. 65

other slaves; a few were well enough educated to manage their master's business.

The few wealthy persons who owned slaves and were supported by their labour, had the means and leisure to devote themselves to the cultivation of the mind and the taste, and to devising ways of making life more comfortable, refined, and beautiful. It is true, too, that the slaves at Athens were treated well—better, perhaps, than anywhere else in the history of the world. Yet, after all has been said in favour of slavery, it must be admitted that the institution is cruel and inhuman. Appreciating this fact, some of the more enlightened Greeks demanded, but in vain, its abolition.

176. Resident Foreigners.—Above the slaves in rank were the resident aliens. Some were from Asia Minor and the Orient, but most of the class were from other Greek states. They came to Athens to enrich themselves by manufacture and trade. A law of Solon (594 B.C.) required the state to admit all such persons to the citizenship; but as the Athenians grew more exclusive, they accepted none but those who had done some great service in behalf of the state, and then only by special vote of the assembly. Thereafter an alien family might reside many generations in Attica without acquiring a right to the citizenship. In this respect Athens was far different from a modern state. The aliens paid a tax for the privilege of residing in the country, and a heavier war tax than that imposed upon the citizens. They were required to serve in the army when the state was in danger of invasion. All, however, were on a social level with the Athenians according to their personal fitness. They shared in the religious festivals, and their boys enjoyed the same education. Some lived in Athens,



ATHENIAN KNIGHTS
(Parthenon frieze; British Museum)

but most of them in Piræus. The commercial greatness of this city was due largely to the labour and the wealth of these resident aliens.

177. Citizens; their Exclusiveness.—Some of the citizens were labourers for hire; others had little farms, which they cultivated alone or with the aid of a slave or two; still others were shopkeepers or artisans. Many were wealthy enough to live without work, to serve in the cavalry—their only standing army—or to fill the offices of the state. There were no paupers, with the exception of a few disabled persons, and these were pensioned by the government. Less than half the population were citizens—members of the state. They considered one another as kinsmen—all descendants of the same “ancestral Apollo”.¹ Each family in its own house worshipped Apollo. As the state was one great family, with many sons and daughters, it felt disinclined to admit aliens—that is, to adopt other sons and daughters. As there was the keenest rivalry with other states, often breaking out into war, Athens felt that her citizens must be loyal, and that aliens, who had little interest in the welfare of the country, must remain aliens. This exclusiveness of the Athenians affected their treatment, not only of resident foreigners, but also of allies, who were now in reality subjects. However loyal an allied state might be, its citizens were given no hope of ever securing the Athenian franchise. Thus the whole body of Athenian citizens had become aristocratic, were now living in part at the expense of the many over whom they ruled, and were taking pride in their exclusive privileges of birth. In earlier time Athenians were allowed to marry women from other states, and the children of such marriages enjoyed full citizenship. When, however, Athens had become an imperial city and the privileges of citizenship had grown to be correspondingly valuable, the Athenians would no longer tolerate the old custom. Pericles put an end to it by a law, 451 B.C., which restricted the citizenship to those whose parents were both Athenians. By this measure the Athenians made of themselves a closed caste,

¹ § 67

practically refusing to intermarry with other Greeks. The great advantage to the progress of the world which we find in the character of the Greek state lies in the fact that it is possible by careful training, generation after generation, to make of such a society a superior race of beings, as far above the common level of humanity as that level is above the savage. Unfortunately, on the other hand, a narrow caste society, like that of the Athenians, with no fresh blood to revitalize it, is doomed sooner or later to physical decay. This narrowness, therefore, though a cause of the greatness of Athens, was to



WOMEN PLAYING KNUCKLEBONES
(From a painting on marble, Herculaneum)

prove more pernicious than all the calamities of war that ever befell her.

178. The Children.—In nearly all ancient states the father had the right to kill his children at their birth, if he did not wish to bring them up. The custom began in barbarous times and was not abolished by so highly civilized a state as Athens. But the Athenian father rarely made use of his right, for he needed children to continue his family and its worship after him. His own happiness in the next world was secure only if he had children to bury him and to sacrifice at his tomb accord-

ing to the hereditary family rites.¹ In this way ancestor worship made parents more humane in their treatment of children and bound the members of the family together in the closest ties of affection and of mutual helpfulness. Soon after the



A SCHOOL
(From a vase-painting)

birth of a child, usually the tenth day following, the parents gave a festival to their friends and kinsmen. On this occasion the child received its name, the eldest son generally being called after the paternal grandfather. For the first six years boys and girls alike grew up under the care of the mother and nurses. With their many toys and games they certainly



IVORY STYLUS
(Fifth century B.C.; found in Enboea; British Museum)

enjoyed life as much as children now do. In order that a person might be known as a citizen, it was necessary that he should be publicly recognized while still an infant. This duty was attended to by the phratry, as explained in an earlier chapter.²

179. The School.—At the age of seven the boy was sent to a school, kept by a master who received pay from the parents of the children whom he instructed. All boys, however poor, learned to read and write. Great care was taken in school and at home to teach the boy good morals and manners. He was not to see or hear anything vulgar or debasing, and he was kept entirely away from bad company. He learned modesty, respect for his parents and elders, love for his country, and other virtues. Most of all he was taught self-restraint and moderation. Pleasures were good, but nothing should be done to excess. He had to learn the proper way to sit, walk, dress, and eat. If the father could afford it, he placed over the boy as governor—*pae-da-go'-gos* “boy leader”—a slave, generally an old man who accompanied the boy wherever he went and saw that the rules of training were strictly obeyed. At school the boy learned reading, writing, arithmetic, and a little geometry and astronomy. With a sharp iron instrument—*sty'lus*—he practised writing on a tablet covered with wax. His books were rolls of Egyptian papyrus. The literature he studied was poetry. His chief books were the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of Homer.¹ These poems picture every phase of life; they encourage in the reader bravery, patriotism, truth, and other virtues with which Homer endows his heroes. They inspire, too, a love of beauty; for they are among the most beautiful poems ever created. The Athenian boys committed much of these to memory.

180. Music; Athletics.—Lessons at school were but a small part of education. Every boy who was to have a place in respectable society had to learn to sing and play on the lyre. This instruction was given by a special master. We are far less sensitive than were the Greeks to the influence of music, and for that reason we cannot understand how powerful a force it was with them for moulding character. Care was taken that the youth should hear and practise only those melodies which cultivate the nobler feelings.

Meantime the boy or youth regularly attended the wrestling

¹ §§ 46 ff.

ground—*pal-aes'tra*—for the practice of gymnastics under a professional teacher. There he was trained in running, wrestling, jumping, boxing, and throwing the discus and spear. The object was not the development of professional athletes who

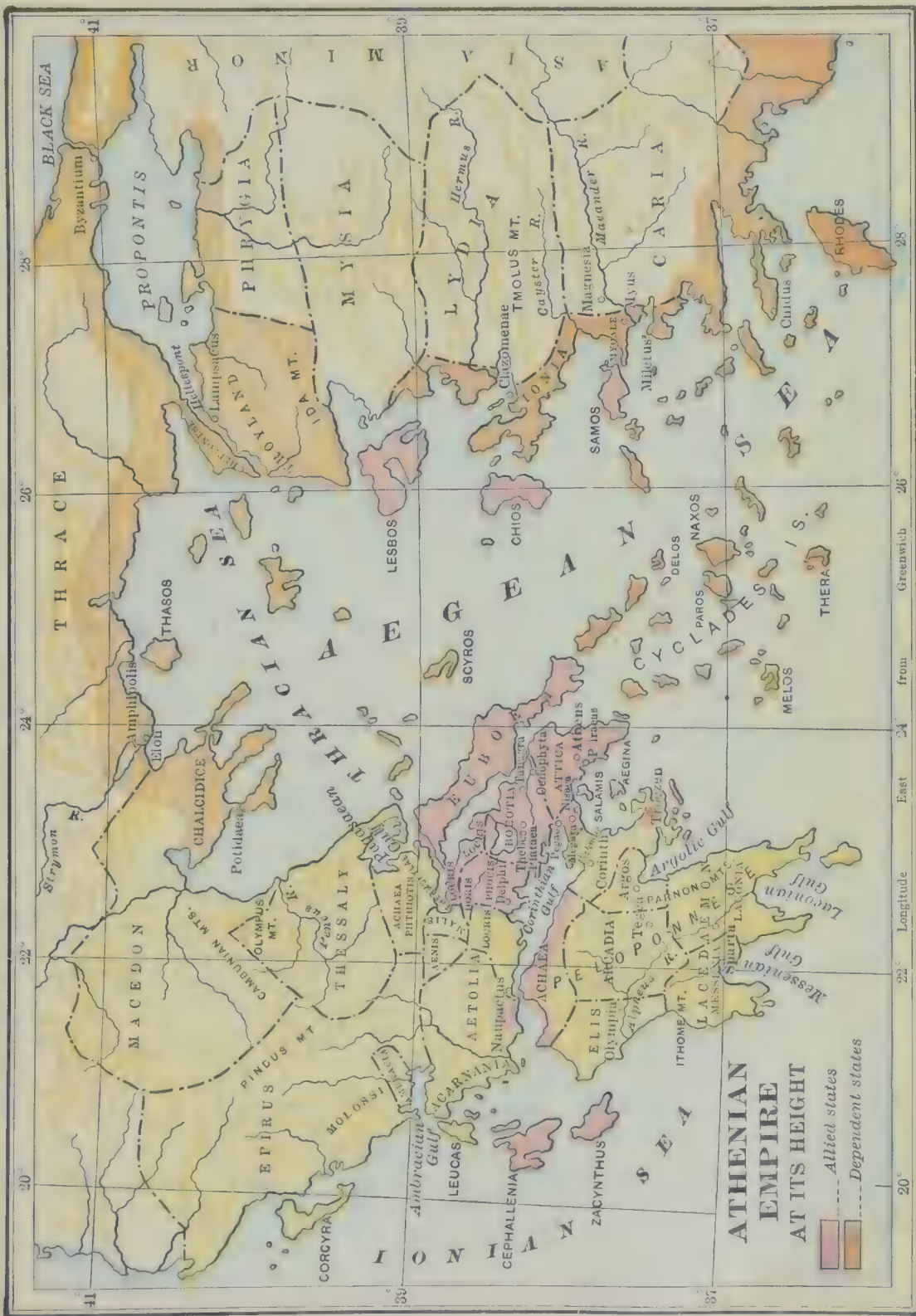


DISCOBOLUS (DISCUS-THROWER)

(After Myron, an older contemporary of Phidias :
Vatican Museum, Rome)

could entertain the public with exhibitions of wonderful strength and skill. All boys took equal part in the exercises for the purpose of making their bodies strong and supple, that as citizens they might serve the state most ably in peace and war. They held frequent competitions in the palaestra and in the religious festivals, and the most promising winners were sent to represent their state at the great national games. The prize was a simple wreath of parsley, laurel, or olive; for the Greeks set honour above money. No greater glory could come to a state than such a victory by one of her citizens.

181. A Well-rounded Education.—From what has been said above it is clear that the education of the youth was physical, intellectual, artistic, and moral. The aim was not to prepare him for business or a profession, but to make of him the best possible man and citizen. Meantime all his surroundings helped in this direction. Men and boys merely ate and slept at home and passed nearly all the day in the open air. Living close to nature, the youth came to understand it far better than we do and learned to live in harmony with it. In that brilliantly clear atmosphere he could see objects near or far



just as they were, not blurred by mist as they are in many parts of the world. He kept his own mind as clear, so that he could describe objects and actions just as they were, with perfect naturalness and truth. His surroundings encouraged the growth of his imagination. He saw about him an endless variety of islands, seas, plains, slopes, and hills. From the Acropolis of Athens he looked across the plain to its border of mountains and to other heights still farther and farther away. His imagination led him to these distant places; it tempted his mind to pass from the known to the unknown on mental voyages of exploration. The mind was so well-trained that he could safely follow it. Thus he became a discoverer of new truth, an inventor in science and art. Though he might never have handled the chisel or the brush, he was by nature an artist, whose taste was satisfied with nothing short of perfection in sculpture, architecture, and literature.

182. Military Training.—At the age of eighteen the youth became a man. His name was then enrolled in the register of his father's township (*deme*).¹ From eighteen to twenty he was required to take military training along with his fellows of the same age. At the end of the first year these young soldiers had to give a public exhibition of their military skill; and the authorities of the state, if satisfied, presented each one with a spear and a shield. After his two years of drill and garrison duty, he remained a citizen soldier liable to be called on for military service till he reached the age of sixty.

183. Women and Marriage.—Athenian girls were kept closely at home and received instruction from their mothers and nurses. Although proficient in domestic affairs, they had little musical and intellectual education. Foreign women in Athens were far freer; many were mentally and socially accomplished, and hence were more attractive than the daughters of the citizens.

Between twenty and thirty a man usually married. There was no opportunity for courtship; in fact the young people rarely knew each other before the wedding; but the youth's



A MARRIAGE PROCESSION
(From a vase-painting)

father chose the bride and with her father or guardian settled the contract. Marriage was largely a business affair: every father gave his daughter a dowry proportioned to his wealth; and as parents were anxious to keep the hereditary property within the family, they preferred to marry their children to near relatives. This intermarriage of near kinfolk was perhaps the chief cause of the physical decline of the Athenians.

Before the wedding both bride and groom bathed in water brought from the Sacred Spring. In the morning a sacrifice was offered to the marriage gods, and later in the day the relatives, men and women, feasted at the house of the bride's father. In the evening a procession escorted her to her new home. She rode in a carriage by her husband's side, while the rest accompanied on foot, some playing the harp and pipe, others singing the bridal song. Various ceremonies attended her entrance into the house.

The wife was not often seen in public. She was present at the funerals of her kin and took part in religious festivals.

Accompanied by a slave, she walked or rode along the streets to the houses of her friends. But in her own home the wife was mistress, and she who had the necessary mental gifts controlled the opinions and even the politics of her husband. Restrictions upon her freedom applied to the wealthy only and especially to the city people. Among the poor, and in the country, women enjoyed a large degree of liberty.

184. The Banquet.—After marriage, as before, men spent most of their time away from home—in the *gymnasia* and the schools of philosophy, in the courts or magistracies, in business and society. Often for the celebration of a happy event a man invited his male friends to an evening dinner, ending in a *symposium*, or drinking-bout. On such an occasion the host entertained his guests with many dainty dishes; but the Athenians were naturally frugal, and their feasts were far less expensive than those of the Romans.

The guests reclined in pairs on couches. After they had washed their hands in bowls passed round for the purpose, slaves set before them low, three-legged tables, on which they then placed the food. The guests used spoons, but no fork, and rarely a knife. As they therefore soiled their hands, it was necessary to wash again after eating. For the symposium they wreathed their heads in garlands and chose a ruler who decided how much wine should be drunk and what the subjects of conversation should be. They weakened their wine with water, so that intoxication was rare. While they were drinking, jugglers, dancers, and musicians of both sexes entertained them. The guests themselves sang or told riddles or conversed, as the ruler directed.

IV. INTELLECTUAL LIFE; THE ATHENIAN GENIUS

185. The Acropolis before Pericles.—The private dwellings of the Athenians and even their state offices were small and inexpensive. Religion alone inspired them to build beautifully and grandly. When the Persians entered Athens, they burned the temples and other buildings, leaving the Acropolis strewn with heaps of ruins. For a time after their return the citizens



Propylaea

Erechtheum

Prytaneum

Theatre

Parthenon

THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS

Odeum of Herodes
Atticus

had neither the leisure nor the means of restoring these shrines. Cimon, however, completing a work begun by Themistocles, levelled the surface of the Acropolis to fit it better for buildings.¹ This end was accomplished by erecting a high wall along the southern edge, a lower one along the northern, and filling up the space thus made with earth and rubbish. The present steep appearance of the hill is due chiefly to this work. But it was left to Pericles to build the temples on the ground thus prepared.

186. The Parthenon.—For this purpose Pericles used some of the funds from the imperial treasury. When the empire was established, Athena became its protecting deity. A splendid house for her would be a glory to the subject states as well as to Athens. Revenues from other sources were likewise used; and as the state owned the marble quarries on Mount Pentelicus, the chief cost was for the labour.

In 447 B.C. the assembly appointed a commission, of which Pericles was a member, to supervise the erection of a new temple to Athena on the Acropolis. In ten years it was sufficiently completed to receive the statue of the goddess. It extends nearly parallel with the southern rim of the hill and is about seventy-five yards long and about thirty-three yards wide. It contains two rooms. The larger one is the *cella*, in which stood the statue, and the smaller the *parthenon*, used as a store-room and treasury of the goddess. The word *parthenon* means maiden's chamber. After a time, however, it came to apply to the whole building, and then it signified the "house of the maiden Athena". In front is a row of six columns, with the same number in the rear.² It is surrounded further by a row of columns, eight on each end and seventeen to the side, counting the corner pillars twice. They rest on a foundation of three steps. Within the *cella* is another colonnade which probably supported a gallery. The columns grow smaller from the bottom upward, and this tapering is modified by a slight outward curve. They are not vertical, but incline slightly to-

¹ He used for this purpose the money derived from the sale of booty taken at Eurymedon; § 163.

² A temple with a colonnade in front is called *pro'style*, and when the row is repeated in the rear, *am'phi-pro-style*. The Parthenon is therefore *amphiprostyle*.

ward the temple walls. The columns are a perfect combination of strength and beauty. The foundation, too, on which the colonnade rests, is slightly higher near the middle than at the corners. In fact, there is not in the entire temple a straight line of any considerable length. By such means the architects avoided the appearance of mechanical stiffness and rendered the building natural and pleasing to the eye. It was made of Pentelic marble. When taken from the quarry this stone is a glittering white, but changes under exposure to creamy yellow and gold. Some parts were painted, others were left natural. The building is of the Doric order, softened by Ionic influence.¹

187. The Sculptures of the Parthenon.—The sculptures of the temple all illustrate the relations of Athena with the city of Athens. They are, so to speak, chapters in the history of these relations. Some of the metopes² represent fights between the Lapiths, a Thessalian tribe, and centaurs—between men and monsters. These scenes are from an age which lies back of Athena's present orderly rule. The all-important chapter is the birth of the goddess. It is represented, therefore, in the most conspicuous place—on the east pediment above the door and facing the rising sun. Here in the midst of gods and heroes Athena springs full-grown and armed from the head of her father Zeus. The next chapter is the contest between Athena and Poseidon for the possession of the city.³ By winning the victory she becomes the guardian of Athens and the first of its citizens. This scene is on the west pediment. The final chapter is the frieze.⁴ It is a band of low reliefs extending around the temple wall within the colonnade. It represents various groups of citizens preparing for the procession of the Great Pan-ath-e-na'ic⁵ festival in her honour, held every fourth year in the month of July. The idea is that of plenty and happiness under her peaceful rule.

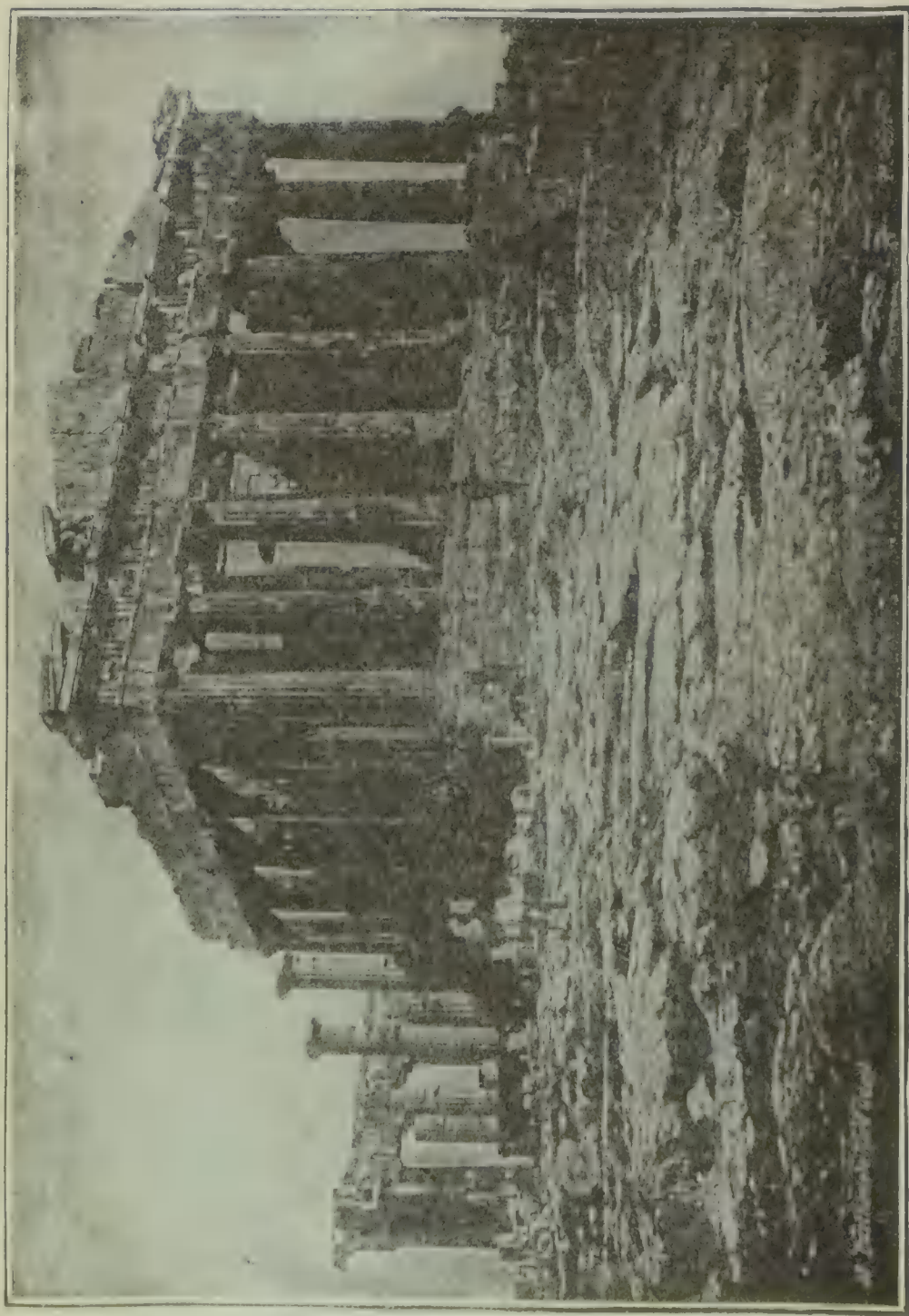
¹ For the meaning of "Doric order" and "Ionic order," see §§ 122-124.

² For the meaning of metope, triglyph, pediment, etc., see § 125.

³ § 62.

⁴ Strictly this is the Ionic frieze, as distinguished from the Doric. The latter is made up of the triglyphs and metopes; § 125.

⁵ This adjective signifies "belonging to all the Athenians". Besides the Greater Panathenaea, there was a Lesser Panathenaea held annually. It was a harvest festival.

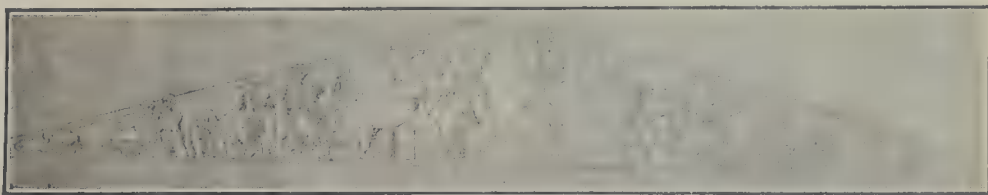


THE PARTHENON
(From ■ photograph)

In beauty these sculptures are fit adornments of the Parthenon. By comparing one of its metopes with that from Selinus described above,¹ we may see how wonderful an advance the Greeks had made in this branch of art within the short period of a hundred and fifty years. The figures of the Parthenon metope are lifelike and are wrought with great skill. The earlier sculpture shows a mechanical succession of figures, little related to one another, whereas those of the later piece form a natural group which fills the slab with a variety of graceful lines. The frieze shows still greater genius in design and skill in execution. The colossal statue of Athena in this temple was made on a wooden frame; the garments were of gold and the bare parts of ivory. We know



LAPITH AND CENTAUR
(Parthenon metope; British Museum)



WEST PEDIMENT OF PARTHENON
(Sketched by Carey before the removal of the sculptures to the British Museum)

that this statue was the work of Phid'ias, the greatest sculptor of all time.² He had the supervision, too, of the other sculptures of the temple.

¹ § 127

² Polycletus of Argos was a contemporary of Phidias, and nearly, if not quite, equal to him in genius. It was Polycletus who set the style for sculptors of statues till Lysippus introduced a new principle. For the characteristics of Polycletus, see § 275.

The nobility of design, the severe beauty, and the finish of these sculptures have never been rivalled. Most of those which still exist were brought to England by Lord Elgin early



GROUP OF MAIDENS
(Parthenon frieze: British Museum)

in the nineteenth century and are now in the British Museum. The Parthenon cannot compare in size with the temples of Egypt, or with the Christian cathedrals of mediæval times; but in the harmony of all its parts, in the beauty of the whole, in the absolute balance of dignity and grace, it is the most nearly perfect piece of architecture ever created by human hands.

188. Other Buildings.—The other buildings of Pericles, though of great artistic value, can be mentioned but briefly here. At the entrance to the Acropolis on the west was erected a magnificent portal called the *Pro-pylæa*—"front gate-

way". Nearly touching it on the south is the temple of Wingless Victory—*Nike Ap'te-ros*. It is a neat little temple of Pentelic marble. One of the best preserved reliefs connected with it represents a Victory adjusting her sandal. Comparing it with the maidens of the Parthenon frieze, we discover at once that its beauty is less severe and restrained. If the Phidian art is the highest attained by mankind, this Victory represents the first downward step.¹

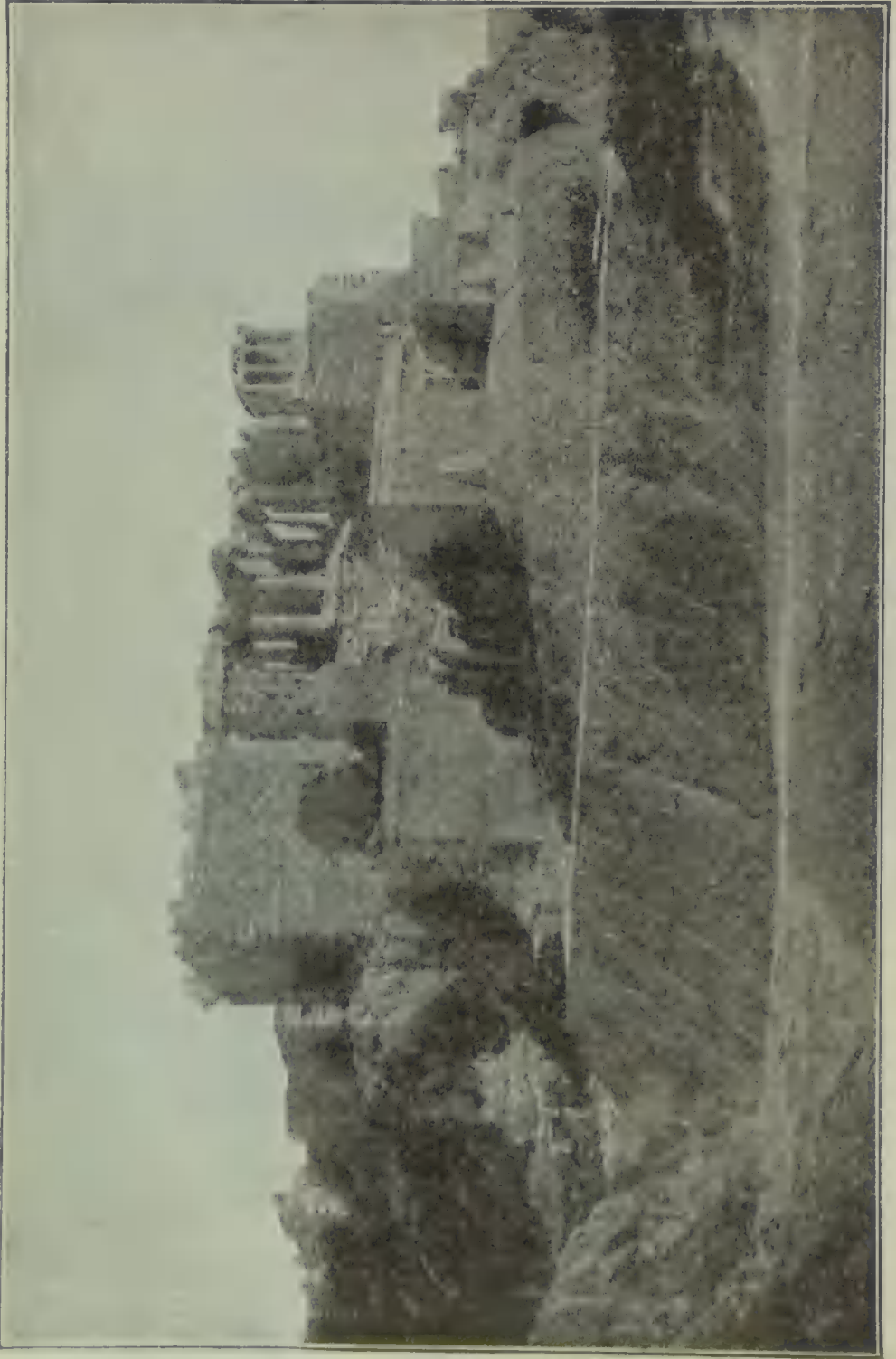
North-west of the Acropolis, on a slight elevation, stands the so-called The-se'um. Scholars now believe that it is really not a shrine to the hero Theseus, but a temple of one of the greater gods. Of all Hellenic temples it is the best preserved. At the base of the Acropolis in the opposite direction was the O-de'um, which has entirely disappeared. It was semicircular in form, with a pointed, tent-like roof, whose rafters were masts of Persian vessels taken at Salamis. In it were held the musical contests of the Great Pan-ath-e-nae'a. A comic poet of the time, calling Pericles Zeus, as the Athenians often did, and comparing the Odeum to a cap, wrote:

Our Zeus with lofty skull appears;
The Odeum on his head he wears,
Because he fears the ostrakon no more.



COPY OF ATHENA PARTHENOS
(Statuette; National Museum, Athens)

¹ It seems probable that this piece of sculpture was made, not in the Age of Pericles, but later in the same century.



THE PROPYLAEA AND THE NIKE TEMPLE
 (From the Acropolis, showing reconstructions lately made. From a photograph)

To the right of the Odeum, as we look down from the Acropolis, was the theatre dedicated to Dionysus. In it the audience sat on rough wooden seats, arranged in rows on the



SO-CALLED THESEUM
(From a photograph)

slope of the hill. This crude building has totally disappeared. The great stone theatres of Greece belong to a later age and will be described, therefore, in another chapter.¹

189. The Drama.—The rudeness of the theatre was more than made good by the genius of the playwrights. Aeschylus (525–456 B.C.), the first great composer of dramas, saw the beginning of the Age of Pericles. He had lived through the war with Persia and had fought in the battles of Marathon and Salamis. From this conflict he drew his inspiration. Of his ninety tragedies we have only seven, but all of them are masterpieces of literature. To the student of history the *Persians* is the most valuable. In representing the invasion of Xerxes, it gives a glorious description of the battle of Salamis.² The moral aim of the play is to show how Zeus punished Xerxes for his insolence. In fact, overweening pride and its fatal effects are the theme of all his writings.

¹ Ch. XXII, § 274 The Erechtheum, also later than the Age of Pericles, is described in § 221.

² See the quotation from it in § 155.

Soph'o-cles was the great dramatic writer of the Age of Pericles. Though not so strong or so original as Aeschylus, he was a more careful artist. His plot is more intricate and his language more finished. We have but seven of his hundred



VICTORY ADJUSTING HER SANDAL

(From balustrade of Nike temple; Acropolis Museum, Athens)

plays. Though the *Oed'ipus Tyr-an'nus* won but a second prize, modern scholars usually consider it his best. It tells how Oedipus, king of Thebes, a just man, brought utter ruin upon himself and his household by unintentional sin.¹ In the *An-tig'o-ne* the heroine faces an conflict between divine and human law. She chooses to obey the command of God in preference to that of the king; and she dies a martyr to the nobler cause. It has always been popular, from its first exhibition to the present day.

190. History. — In the Age of Pericles He-rod'o-tus was at work on his *History*, the first masterpiece of Greek prose. An exile

from his native city of Hal-i-car-nas'sus in Asia Minor, the "father of history" spent much of his life in travel. He visited nearly all of the known world and everywhere collected from the natives interesting stories of persons and events. These he wove into a history of the war between Greece and Persia. In tracing the causes of the conflict, by way of introduction he gives the history of the world from mythical times

down to the war itself. He wrote his work to be read aloud, as the poems of Homer had been, at public gatherings. This helps us to understand why his style is so simple and so interesting. Many of his tales are myths or fictitious anecdotes; but they are all valuable, as they illustrate the character of nations and of individuals. Herodotus was one of the fairest and most large-minded of historians. Though uncritical, though he takes little interest in politics or in the deeper causes of events, yet his picture of the world of his time and of mankind in the many countries which he visited makes his work perhaps the truest, as it certainly is the most interesting, of all histories.

191. Philosophy of the Sophists.—Pericles was a patron of literature and art and a friend of philosophers. Among his teachers was An-ax-ag'o-ras, the first philosopher who taught that Mind rules the universe. The class of philosophers called sophists¹ was now becoming numerous. They travelled through Greece, teaching practical knowledge of every kind for pay. Especially they aimed to prepare young men for statesmanship by training them in mere cleverness of thought. As a rule they were sceptical; with their false logic they tried to undermine belief in everything. They destroyed respect for religion by pointing out its inconsistencies and the immoralities of the gods. Their influence, however, affected but a few men of wealth and leisure. In general, life was wholesome and the people were moral.

192. Character of Pericles.—The noble birth and connections of Pericles have been mentioned above.² His education in literature, music, and philosophy was the best his city could afford. In oratory he had no special training, for in his younger days rhetoric had not yet come into existence.³ Though he attended carefully to the wording of his speeches, he had no technical rules of composition to follow. His delivery was not dramatic, but statuesque. He stood quietly, with scarcely a gesture or movement to ruffle the folds of his mantle. The audience was moved by the weight of his words,

¹ From σοφός, wise

² § 167

³ Cf. § 223

the majesty of his person, his deep earnestness, and the confidence which his pure and noble character inspired. Other speakers of the time were thought of merely as human; he was Olympian,¹ the Zeus of Athens. A comic poet of the time speaks of him as "rolling fateful thunders from his tongue". Like every true orator, Pericles felt deeply the emotions which he knew how to stir in others; but he kept his feelings strictly under the control of his intelligence, so as to look at everything clearly and calmly. His character had the completeness and the poise which we admire in a Greek statue and which we describe as classic.

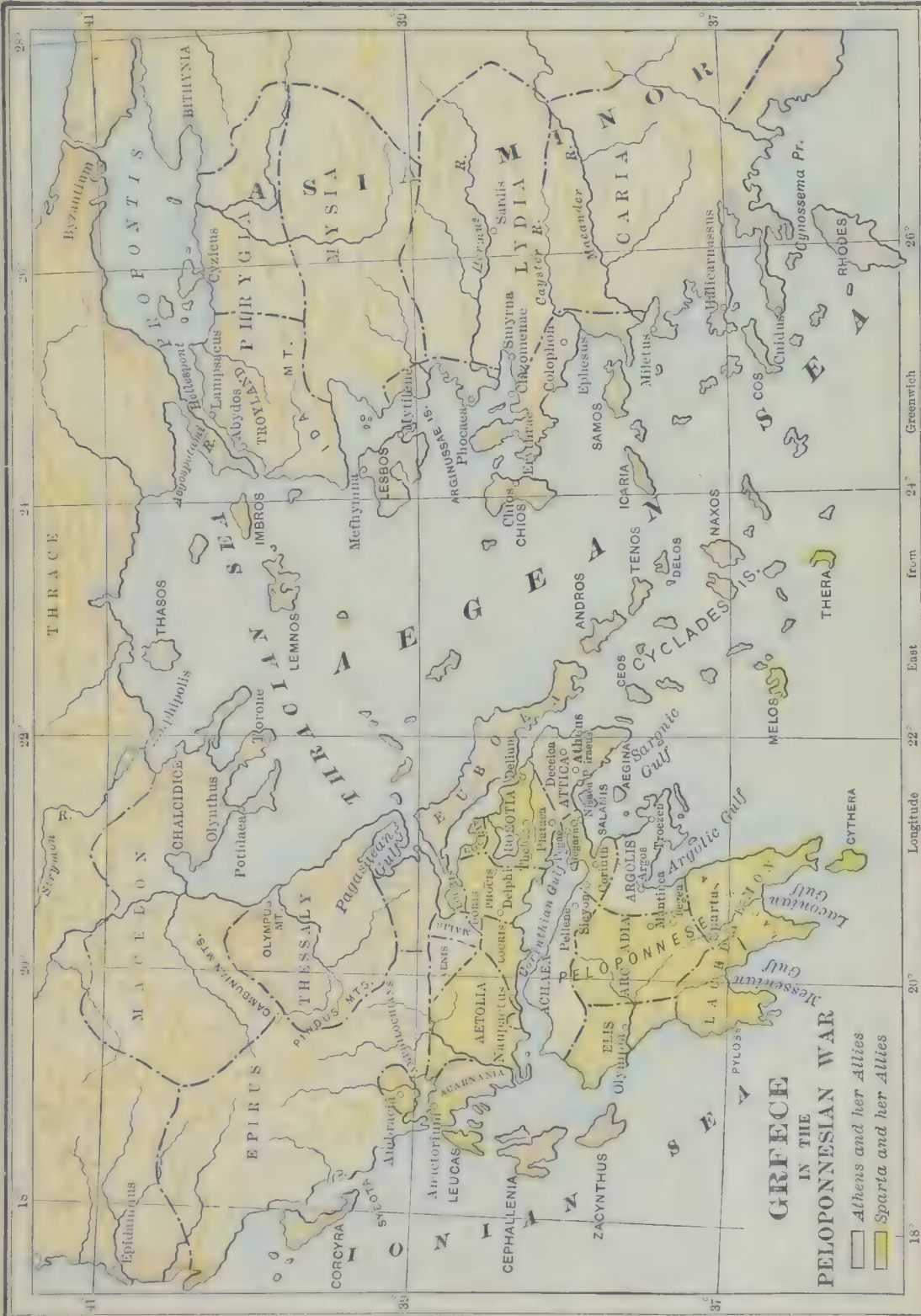
Though no military genius, Pericles was an able commander. He was a master of diplomacy and a great statesman. Themistocles, a man of far higher genius, had boldly followed his intuitions; Pericles was cold and calculating—he would make his entire policy right by most careful attention to all the details. In the enthusiasm of his earlier career he had hoped by a few bold strokes to make his city the head of all Hellas and the dominant power in the Mediterranean world. But he had failed; and through the following years of peace he toiled with patience and energy in preparation for a new and more successful trial of strength with Lacedaemon. While engaged in beautifying his city, he paid even more attention to the building of triremes and arsenals and to the manufacture of arms. Proof of this activity is the splendid military condition in which Athens found herself at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.²

193. Pericles on the Athenian Character.—The Athenians were not only more intensely religious than the other Greeks, but they devoted themselves with greater earnestness and force to political, artistic, and intellectual life. The best interpreter of their public character is Pericles himself. In one of his orations³ he defines their democracy as "equality before the laws and offices for the qualified", after which he calls attention to their social liberality and kindness. "There is no ex-

¹ § 53

² § 196

³ His *Funeral Oration* in Thu-cyd'i-des, ii. 35-46. The language is largely that of the historian. The ideas are those of Pericles.



GREECE IN THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

- Athens and her Allies
- Sparta and her Allies

Longitude 18° 20° 22° 24° 26° East from Greenwich

clusiveness in our private intercourse. We are not suspicious of one another, nor angry with our neighbour if he does what he likes; we do not put on sour looks at him, which though harmless are unpleasant. We have not forgotten to provide our weary spirits with many relaxations from toil; we have regular games and sacrifices throughout the year; at home the style of our life is refined; and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps banish sadness." The mentality and the physical energy of the Athenians were in his time intense. "We have the peculiar power of thinking before we act", he asserts, "and of acting, too, whereas other men are courageous from ignorance, but hesitate on reflection". A great foreign policy, such as he was pursuing, had to be based not on ignorant selfishness, but on kindness and generosity. "We alone do good to our neighbours not upon a calculation of interest, but in a frank and fearless spirit."

His object in building the Parthenon and other temples, in encouraging artists to produce the best possible painting and sculpture, in fostering literature and a many-sided education, was to make of the Athenians a people superior in mind and heart to the rest of the Greeks—a people whom none would be ashamed to acknowledge as teachers or rulers. "To sum up, I say that Athens is the school of Hellas, and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace. . . . In the hour of trial Athens alone among her contemporaries is superior to the report of her. No enemy who comes against her is indignant at the reverses which he sustains at the hands of such a city; no subject complains that his masters are unworthy of him." The ideal, though high, was nearly reached in fact.

194. The Troubles of Pericles.—But the era of peace was rapidly drawing to an end. The moderate policy of Pericles pleased neither the oligarchs nor the extreme democrats. His enemies, not daring to attack him directly, assailed his friends one after another. First they prosecuted Phidias, the sculptor, on the charge of embezzling some of the gold intrusted to

him to be used in gilding the statue of Athena for the Parthenon. Although he was ready to prove his innocence by having the metal taken off and weighed, they threw him into prison, where he died of sickness. About the same time As-pa'si-a was indicted for impiety and immorality. She was a Milesian by birth, a woman of remarkable intelligence. Pericles had divorced his wife, the mother of his two sons, and had taken Aspasia to his house, though his own law of 451 B.C. forbade him to marry an alien. She became the teacher of artists, philosophers, and orators—the inspiring genius of the Periclean social circle. But the Athenians, who in this age had come to believe that a woman must be restricted to the house and must talk with no one outside of her own family, regarded Aspasia's conduct as immoral. Happily Pericles by personal entreaty induced the judges to acquit her. While he was thus beset by private difficulties, war with Peloponnese began to threaten.

CHAPTER XV

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR TO THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION

431-415 B.C.

195. Causes of the War.—Before the year 431 B.C. a great majority of the states of Greece had been brought under the leadership of Athens or of Sparta. The peace of 445 B.C. was to last thirty years; but scarcely half that period had elapsed when war broke out between the two powers. They were rivals for the leadership of Greece; and the growing power of Athens filled Sparta with jealousy and fear.

The Athenians had trouble also with particular states of the League. The usual relations between Athens and Corinth had been extremely friendly; but since the war with Persia, Piræus was monopolizing the commerce of the seas, and Corinth found herself painfully cramped in her trade. Furthermore, Athens was interfering between her and her colony, Corcyra. Corinth and Corcyra had fought for the possession of Ep-i-dam'nus, a joint colony on the mainland. After suffering a severe defeat in battle, Corinth persuaded several of her neighbours to aid in preparing a great armament with which to overwhelm Corcyra. Thereupon the latter sent envoys to Athens to ask an alliance. Corinthian ambassadors also came, and the two parties pleaded their causes before the Athenian assembly. Believing war with Lacedaemon inevitable, Pericles felt that the navy of the Corcyraeans should by all means be secured for Athens. Upon his advice, therefore, it was resolved to make a defensive alliance with them; and a small Athenian fleet was sent to aid them in defending their island against the great Corinthian armament.¹ The Corinthians were justly

¹ In the battle off Syb'o-ta, 432 B.C.

angry with this interference between themselves and their colonies, especially as they had several times prevented Lacedaemon from interfering in Athenian affairs. They asserted that Athens broke the treaty, and now exerted all their energy to stir up Peloponnese against the offender.

At the same time they were urging Potidaea¹ to revolt. This Corinthian settlement in Chalcidice had grown into a prosperous city, now tributary to Athens. Garrisoned by a force from the mother state, it revolted, whereupon the Athenians laid siege to the place.

The Corinthians alleged that this was another violation of the treaty of 445 B.C. They persuaded the Lacedaemonians to call a congress of the League to consider the various grievances against Athens (432 B.C.). When the deputies gathered, the Lacedaemonians invited them to bring their complaints before the Spartan assembly. Among those who had grievances were the Megarians. Athens had recently passed an act which excluded them from the ports and markets of Attica and of the empire. This, also, the Megarians averred, was a violation of the treaty. Persuaded by these arguments, the Spartan assembly voted that the Athenians had broken the treaty. The Peloponnesian congress ratified the decision and declared war against Athens.

196. The Resources of Athens and Sparta.—The empire of Athens, composed of subject states, was stronger than it had ever been before. Among her independent allies were Chios, Lesbos, Thessaly, and Plataea, besides a few cities in Italy and Sicily. She had thirteen thousand heavy-armed troops and a larger force for garrison service. She had three hundred triremes of her own, besides those of the allies, and her sailors were the best in the world. She commanded the sea and its resources. The tribute from her subject cities, together with other revenues, amounting in all to about a thousand talents a year, would be nearly enough, in case of siege, to support the whole Attic population on imported food.

All the Peloponnesian states, except Argos and a part of Achaea, were in alliance with Lacedaemon; and outside of Peloponnese, the Megarians, Boeotians, Locrians, and some others; in Sicily and in Italy most of the Dorian cities sympathized with Sparta. The few commercial states of the League provided ships; the others, land forces only. The League could muster an army of twenty-five thousand heavy-armed men. Though by no means a numerous force, it was the strongest in the world at that time.

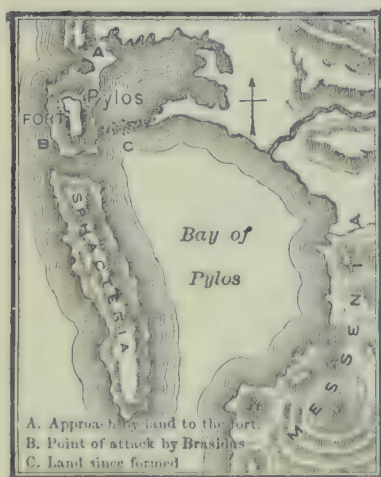
197. The First Three Years of the War (431-429 B.C.).—In the summer of the first year a Peloponnesian army invaded Attica. The plan of Pericles was to venture no battle on land, but to bring the entire population into the city or behind the Long Walls, and to damage Peloponnese as much as he could with his fleet. While the invaders were devastating Attica, the Athenians were sailing round Peloponnese and ravaging the coasts. These operations were repeated nearly every year through the early part of the war. The removal of the country people to Athens was very painful. They were distressed at exchanging the homes and shrines which they loved for the crowded city, where most of them could find no comfortable shelter. And when they saw their houses and orchards ruined by the enemy, they could not help being angry with Pericles. Nevertheless his policy was on the whole successful.

Next year Athens and Piraeus were visited by a plague, which inflicted more terrible damage than the severest defeat in battle would have done. The people suffered because they were crowded together and lacked the comforts of life. Although many nobly risked their lives to attend their friends, the total effect was demoralizing. The Athenians blamed Pericles for both war and plague and gave vent to their grief and anger by fining him heavily. But soon they repented and again elected him general with absolute power.

198. The Death of Pericles; Cleon as Leader (429 B.C.).—Pericles died of the plague, and the leadership of the state passed into the hands of Cleon, a tanner (429 B.C.). Though no general, he had a remarkable talent for finance and was an

orator of great force. In the main he followed the policy of Pericles. As the surplus in the treasury was soon exhausted by the war, the state levied a direct tax, and Cleon made himself very unpopular with the wealthy by his ruthlessness in collecting it. The more energetic he was in providing ways and means, the more the nobles hated him. They could not endure to see this upstart from the industrial class at the head of the government, compelling them to pay in taxes the expenses of a war they did not favour.

199. The Revolt of Lesbos (428-427 B.C.).—In the year after Cleon had come to the front, the oligarchs of Lesbos induced



Myt-i-lé-ne and nearly all the other cities of the island to revolt. There was danger that all the maritime cities would follow this example. But the Peloponnesians were too slow in sending the promised aid, and the Athenians made desperate efforts to conquer the island. As a last resort (427 B.C.) the oligarchs of Mytilene armed the commons; but the latter promptly surrendered the city to the Athenian commander. Thereupon he sent the oligarchs, who alone were guilty of revolt,

to Athens for trial. The Athenians were angry because the Lesbians had revolted without cause; they feared, too, for the safety of their empire and indeed for their own lives. With no great difficulty, therefore, Cleon persuaded them to condemn and put to death all the captive oligarchs. Cleon's idea was to make an example of them, that other communities might fear to revolt. The punishment, decreed under excitement, was too severe, and out of keeping with the humane character of the Athenians. In putting down this revolt, they passed the dangerous crisis and were again undisputed masters of the Aegean Sea.

200. The Capture of Pylos (425 B.C.).—The war now began to turn decidedly in favour of Athens. This change was chiefly due to De-mos'the-nes, the ablest commander since the days of Themistocles and Cimon. In 425 B.C. he seized Py'los, on the west coast of Peloponnese, and fortified it. This became a thorn in the side of Sparta—a refuge for helots and a good basis for ravaging Laconia. It was a promontory with an excellent harbour protected by the island of Sphac-te'ri-a. Demosthenes held the place against repeated attacks of the Peloponnesians. A select corps of the enemy landed on Sphacteria and tried to carry his position by storm. The attempt failed; the besiegers found themselves blockaded by an Athenian fleet; and then, to save the troops on the island, they made a truce with Demosthenes with a view to negotiating for peace. Spartan envoys came to Athens to discuss the terms; but as the demands of Cleon were too great for them to accept, the war continued. Cleon brought reinforcements to Pylos and wisely placed himself under the command of Demosthenes. The latter captured the troops of Sphacteria and brought them home, two hundred and ninety-two in number (425 B.C.). The victory strengthened the hold of Athens on the empire and enabled her to raise the tribute to a thousand talents. This measure increased the Athenian resources for war.

201. Brasidas: Athenian Losses (424-422 B.C.).—Soon the tide began to turn against Athens. A certain Spartan officer named Bras'i-das discovered the one exposed point of the Athenian empire—Chalcidice. It was the only part of the empire outside of Attica which the Peloponnesians could reach by land. Brasidas invaded this country with a small force of allies and emancipated helots. An exceptionally able commander and diplomatist, he induced several states of the empire to revolt, among them Am-philip'o-lis, the most important city in that region. The states which revolted became members of the Peloponnesian League. Cleon, who had been elected general, tried to regain Amphipolis, but was defeated and slain. Brasidas was killed in the same battle. The death of these two men removed the chief obstacles in the way of peace.

202. The Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.). — Both Athens and Sparta desired peace. The Athenians were discouraged by Cleon's recent failure. The Lacedaemonians, for their part, were bitterly disappointed in the results of the war. They had hoped to crush the power of Athens in a few years at the most, but had suffered at Pylos the greatest reverse in their history. They were anxious also to recover the prisoners taken at Sphacteria, for many of them were no ordinary troops, but pure Spartans. Nicias, a general of the Athenians, carried on the negotiations as representative of his city, and the treaty accordingly bears his name. It was concluded in 421 B.C. The treaty provided for a return to the relations which had existed before the war. As the opposing powers seemed evenly balanced, the arrangement was accepted as just. Later events, however, proved that Athens lost greatly by the treaty.

Peace was to last fifty years and was to extend to the allies on both sides. Though the treaty was imperfectly carried out, the two cities did not directly attack each other for seven years, and the Athenians enjoyed the peace while it lasted. They returned to the country and began again the cultivation of their little farms, pleased to be free from their long confinement behind the walls.

203. Alcibiades; the Battle of Mantinea (418 B.C.). — When it became known in Athens that peace with Sparta could not be maintained, the war party again came into power. The principal leader of this party was Al-ci-bi'a-des. He belonged to one of the noblest families of Athens and was a near kinsman of Pericles. Though still young, he was influential because of his high birth and his fascinating personality. His talents were brilliant in all directions; but he was lawless and violent and followed no motive but self-interest and self-indulgence. Through his influence Athens allied herself with Argos, Elis, and Man-ti-ne'a against the Lacedaemonians and their allies. The armies of these two unions met in battle at Mantinea in 418 B.C. The Lacedaemonians, who still had the best organization and discipline in Greece, were victorious. This success wiped out the disgrace which had lately come upon

them and enabled them to regain much of their former influence in Peloponnese. Argos and Mantinea now made peace with Lacedaemon apart from Athens.

204. Slaughter of the Melians (416 B.C.).—In 416 B.C. Alcibiades persuaded Athens to send a fleet against Me'los, now the only Aegean island outside her empire. It was a colony of Lacedaemon, but remained neutral till the Athenians began to attack it. They were acting on the principle that the Aegean Sea was theirs, and all the islands in it. Insisting that the strongest had a right to rule, they tried to justify their own conquests by their mild treatment of subjects. Thus, if the Melians should surrender, they would be required merely to pay an annual tribute. But as Melos resisted, the Athenians blockaded the island and starved the inhabitants into surrender. They then killed all the men of military age and enslaved the women and children. Greek usage made it just for them to annex the island, but the slaughter of the conquered, though common in that age, has proved an indelible stain on the good name of Athens.

CHAPTER XVI

FROM THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION TO THE END OF THE WAR

415-404 B.C.

I. THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION

205. Athens and the Western Greek (479-416 B.C.).—To understand how Sicily now came to be involved in the war, it is necessary to run rapidly over the history of the western Greeks from the time of their victory over Carthage.

After the battle of Himera (480 B.C.),¹ the Greeks of Sicily and Italy entered upon an era of great prosperity. The tyrants beautified their cities with temples and statues. Literature flourished, wealth abounded, and life was easy. Then tyranny was abolished, and before the middle of the century most of the cities of western Greece had introduced democratic governments. Syracuse, the greatest power in Sicily, led the Hellenic cities of the island in time of war in some such way as Sparta had led the eastern Greeks during the Persian invasions. In this position Syracuse followed two nearly related lines of policy: She maintained close friendship with Sparta and with her mother city, Corinth; and she aimed to bring all the Sicilian cities as thoroughly under her control as those of Peloponnese were under Sparta. In consequence of this policy, Syracuse was hostile to Athens, the enemy of Corinth and Sparta, and the Sicilian cities which disliked the rule of Syracuse looked to Athens for protection.

From the time of Themistocles the Athenians took a more and more lively commercial interest in the West. They exported vases and other manufactured articles to Italy, Sicily,

¹ § 159

and Carthage. Commerce gradually led to political influence; Se-ges'ta, a foreign city, and the Ionian Rhegium and Le-on-ti'ni became their allies. When the Peloponnesian War began, the Dorians of the West gave their sympathy to Sparta, and at the same time Syracuse found in the war an opportunity to encroach upon the Ionian cities, especially upon Leontini. Athens sent little aid, and Leontini was destroyed.

206. Preparations for an Expedition to Sicily (415 B.C.).—Naturally the Athenians looked upon this event as a great misfortune to themselves; they feared lest the Dorians, if they should gain control of Sicily, might furnish Sparta with troops and supplies in her war with Athens. Many Athenians even dreamed of adding Sicily to their empire. While they were in this mood, envoys came from Segesta, a city of Sicily, begging Athens for protection from Se-li'nus, a stronger state near by. All were, therefore, deeply interested in the request of the Segestaeans for aid. The latter promised to pay the expenses of an expedition and grossly exaggerated the wealth of their city. Alcibiades urged the Athenians to conquer Sicily. His motive was doubtless selfish—to open a field in which he might display his talents and win fame. The project was unwise, for the Athenians could do little more than hold their empire together and defend it against the Peloponnesians. Nicias advised the citizens in their assembly to drop all thought of the scheme, but his warnings were unheeded. The Athenians made ready in the spring of 415 B.C. to send a magnificent land and naval armament to Sicily. Ar-is-toph'a-nes, the comic poet,¹ tells us how in Piraeus the preparations for such an expedition—

Filled the city with a noise of troops:
And crews of ships, crowding and clamouring
About the muster-masters and paymasters;
With measuring corn out at the magazine,
And all the porch choked with the multitude;
With figures of Athena newly furbished,
Painted and gilt, parading in the streets;
And wineskins, kegs, and firkins, leeks, and onions;
With garlic crammed in pouches, nets, and pokes;

¹ § 221

With garlands, singing girls, and bloody noses.
 Our arsenal would have sounded and resounded,
 With bangs and thwacks of driving bolts and nails,
 With shaping oars, and holes to put the oars in;
 With hacking, hammering, clattering, and boring,
 Words of command, whistles, and pipes, and fifes.

Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lam'a-chus—an able officer of the school of Pericles—were to conduct the expedition. To say nothing of the evils of a divided command, Nicias and Alcibiades were so opposed to each other as to give no prospect of harmony in the councils of war.

207. The Mutilation of the Hermae.—It was customary for the Athenians to place on the street before the door of a private



A "HERMES"

house or a temple, a square stone pillar, ending at the top in the head of Hermes or some other god. Whatever deity might be represented, the figures were called Hermae (plural of Hermes). One morning when the armament was nearly ready to sail, the Athenians were horrified to find that these Hermae, which they held in great reverence as the guardians of peace and public order, had been nearly all mutilated in the night. The citizens were overwhelmed with terror. They feared that a band of conspirators had attempted to deprive Athens of divine protec-

tion and would next try to overthrow the government. Some, without good cause, suspected Alcibiades. A court of inquiry was appointed to investigate the matter. It failed to discover the perpetrators of this sacrilege, but learned that certain men, among them Alcibiades, had been profaning the Eleusinian mysteries¹ by imitating them for amusement in private houses.

Believing that the welfare of the state depended upon keeping these mysteries secret, the citizens were greatly alarmed at hearing that they had been profaned and divulged. Alcibiades in vain demanded a trial. His enemies feared that he would be acquitted through the support of the soldiers, with whom he

¹ § 129

was very popular. It would be safer, his opponents thought, to wait till the armament had departed and then recall him for trial.

208. The Voyage; the Plans of the Admirals (415 B.C.).—The armament was to gather at Corcyra. The whole Athenian population thronged the wharves of Piræus to watch the departure of the imperial city's galleys. The moment was full of tears and prayers, of anxiety and hope. The flower of Athenian strength was going forth to war, and some predicted that the galleys would return no more.

One hundred and thirty-four triremes and a great number of transports and merchant ships assembled at Corcyra with five thousand heavy-armed men on board, besides light auxiliaries and the crews. Hellas had seen larger fleets than this, but none so splendid or so formidable. About the middle of the summer it began its voyage across the Ionian Sea toward Italy.

But the western Greeks now gave Athens a cold reception. Even Rhegium, which had always been friendly, would not admit the Athenians within its walls. The great armament seemed a menace to the liberties of all alike. It soon appeared, too, that Segesta could furnish little support. Disappointed by such news, the admirals were in doubt as to what they should do. Lamachus wished to attack Syracuse immediately; Nicias preferred to display the fleet along the Sicilian coasts and then return home. Either plan would have been good; but Alcibiades proposed instead to win over as many Sicilian cities as possible by negotiation. With all his genius for diplomacy, in this instance he miscalculated; the Greeks of the West could not be won over by mere discussion. His unwise plan, however, was adopted. Yet, before it had been followed far, Alcibiades was recalled to Athens for trial. But on the way home he made his escape to Peloponnese, whereupon the Athenians sentenced him to death. The trick of his opponents had succeeded—probably to their satisfaction; but it made of Alcibiades as dangerous an enemy as Athens ever had.

209. The Siege of Syracuse (414-413 B.C.).—Nicias, who now held the superior command, trifled away the autumn in half-hearted undertakings and then wasted the winter at Cat'ana. Meantime the Syracusans were inclosing their city with strong walls. In the spring of 414 B.C. the Athenians entered the Great Harbour and laid siege to Syracuse; they began to build a wall which, if completed, would cut the city off from communication by land with the rest of the island. They were successful in several minor engagements; but Lamachus was killed, and with his death the command lost all energy. The



- a.* Athenian naval camp
- b.* Athenian fort
- c.* Height in rear of Athenian wall
- d, d'.* Athenian wall
- k, l.* Unfinished part of Athenian wall
- n, n'.* Old city wall
- m, m'.* New city wall (415 B.C.)
- h, h'.* Syracusan cross wall

Syracusans built and maintained against the besiegers a cross wall extending from their outer line of defence on the north to the height in the rear of the Athenian position. This prevented the besiegers from finishing the northern part of their wall and secured a free communication with the country. At the same time the Syracusans were acquiring a navy sufficiently strong to venture battle with the Athenian fleet. There was no longer any reasonable hope of taking Syracuse; and Nicias would gladly have raised the siege, but dared not face the Athenian assembly after so great a failure. In the winter he wrote a letter to Athens, giving a detailed account of the situation and asking that either the armament be withdrawn or

strong reinforcements be sent. The Athenians would take no thought of abandoning the enterprise and prepared to send nearly as large a land and naval force as the original one, and this notwithstanding the fact that the war with Lacedaemon was now openly resumed.

210. Agis in Attica; Ruin of the Athenian Armament (413 B.C.).—In the spring of 413 B.C. A'gis, king of the Lacedaemonians, ravaged Attica, which for twelve years had seen no enemy. At the suggestion of Alcibiades, he seized and fortified Dec-e-le'a, a strong position in the north of Attica. The Lacedaemonians continued to hold it winter and summer to the end of the war. The Athenians could now do no farming except under their very walls. They were obliged to keep perpetual watch about the city to prevent surprise, and their slaves deserted to the enemy in great numbers. But though they were themselves thus practically besieged by land, they sent to Syracuse a new fleet of seventy-three triremes and five thousand hoplites, commanded by Demosthenes, their ablest general. On his arrival at Syracuse he found the army in a sorry plight and the fleet already defeated in the Great Harbour by the Syracusans. He saw that the Athenians must either resume active operations at once or abandon the siege. In the following night, accordingly, he attempted to take the Syracusan cross wall by surprise, but was repulsed with great loss. In spite of his advice to put the army on board the fleet and sail away, his slow colleague, Nicias, delayed for some days. When finally everything was ready for embarking, there was an eclipse of the moon, which filled Nicias as well as the soldiers with superstitious fears. The result was that they remained twenty-seven days longer, to avoid the effect of the evil omen. Before that time had elapsed, the Athenians lost another naval battle, and the disheartened crews would fight no more. The Athenians then burned their ships and began to retreat by land, Nicias in advance and Demosthenes bringing up the rear. The two divisions were separated on the march, and, after severe losses, both were compelled to surrender. Probably forty thousand men had taken part in the Sicilian expedition, and

twenty-five thousand were left to begin the retreat. Demosthenes and Nicias were both put to death. Many of the captives were sold into slavery; many were thrown into the stone quarries near Syracuse, where most of them perished of exposure and starvation. The failure of the expedition was due chiefly to the stupidity and the superstition of Nicias. It compelled the Athenians at once to abandon all hope of conquering other peoples, and to consider instead how they could save themselves and their empire from ruin.

II. THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE WAR

413-404 B.C.

211. Effects of the Sicilian Disaster (413 B.C.).—At first the Athenians could not believe the news of the disaster in Sicily, even when they heard it from the survivors themselves. As they came to realize the truth, they vented their rage upon the orators and the soothsayers who had persuaded them to engage in the enterprise. For a time they seemed overwhelmed with despair; while mourning their losses they feared that they should now have to contend against the whole Greek world, and they had no ships, no men, no money. But the spirit of Athens was elastic; her hopes revived, and her citizens determined in some way to build a new fleet. At the same time they resolved to cut down expenses and to hold fast to their empire. Fortunately they had the winter for preparation before the enemy could attack.

The Lacedaemonians and their allies, elated by the news, began to hope once more for success. They despatched aid to the Chians and other allies of Athens, who were revolting. Alcibiades himself went thither from Sparta to encourage rebellion against his native city. The Lacedaemonians then concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Persia; they surrendered to that power the cities of Asia Minor which Athens had protected from every enemy for nearly seventy years.

212. Rebellion checked; Alcibiades (412 B.C.).—The Athenians put forth every energy to prevent the revolt from spreading. To Samos, their most faithful ally, they granted independence, and made this island the base of their naval operations. The contending parties remained nearly balanced in strength, even after the arrival of a Syracusan fleet to help the Lacedaemonians; but the resources of Athens were gradually exhausted, while those of the enemy seemed limitless. Such was the state of affairs when an unexpected event turned the war for a time in favour of Athens. Alcibiades, hated by King Agis and fearing for his life, forsook Sparta, went over to the satrap of Sardis, and persuaded him to keep back the Phoenician fleet, which was daily expected in the Aegean Sea. He convinced the satrap that it would be well to let Lacedaemon and Athens wear each other out in war. Alcibiades sincerely desired to return to Athens; and, in order to bring about his recall, he aimed to win the gratitude of his countrymen by making them think he could gain for them the friendship of Persia. He wished, too, to recover on his return the leadership of the democratic party. But a serious obstacle was in the way—An'dro-cles, the present head of the party, was the very man who had sent him into exile. To accomplish his object, Alcibiades felt that he must persuade others to overthrow the popular government along with the chief, before he himself could step in to restore it. In the light of a saviour of democracy, he believed that he could return all-powerful to his native city.

213. The Conspiracy of the Oligarchs (412–411 B.C.).—The time was ripe for a change of government at Athens, as the Sicilian disaster seemed to prove the failure of democracy. Some of the officers of the Athenian army at Samos, who were themselves of the wealthier class, favoured the establishment of oligarchy, in which they thought they should have more of the privileges naturally belonging to men of their standing. Accordingly, when Alcibiades sent them word that he would return and make the satrap an ally of Athens if they should set up an oligarchy, they readily consented. But when their

spokesman came to Athens, the citizens met his proposals with a storm of indignation. They objected equally to changing the government and to recalling the impious traitor, Alcibiades. But the oligarch addressed the objectors one by one and asked them what else could be done. "How are we to raise money to support the war against both Persia and our many Greek enemies?" he asked. Unable to meet this pointed argument, the people gave way, in the hope that they might renew the democracy at the close of the war. It soon appeared, however, that Alcibiades had grossly deceived the Athenians in making them believe he could win the help of Persia.

The oligarchs proceeded, nevertheless, to carry out their designs. As a part of the programme, their clubs at Athens assassinated Androcles and other prominent democrats and in this way terrorized the whole state. Overestimating the extent of the conspiracy, the people feared to talk on the subject with one another, lest in so doing they might betray themselves to an enemy. This mutual distrust among the citizens made the conspirators safe. They managed to place the state under the control of a Council of Four Hundred, which included the principal oligarchs. This body was to rule with absolute power.

214. The Rule of the Four Hundred (411 B.C.). — When organized, the Four Hundred assumed the reins of government. They ruled by force, assassinating, banishing, and imprisoning their opponents on mere suspicion. They showed their lack of patriotism by their willingness to make peace with Lacedaemon at any price, and their weakness by yielding Euboea to the enemy.

News of the violence and cruelty of the Four Hundred came to the Athenian army at Samos. The soldiers assembled, declared that Athens had revolted, and that they themselves constituted the true government of the empire. They deposed their oligarchic officers and filled the vacant places with popular men; they prepared to carry on the war with vigour and hoped through Alcibiades to win Persia to their side. Thrasy-bu'lus, one of the new commanders, brought the famous exile to their camp. A democrat once more, Alcibiades was

immediately elected general and placed in chief command of the army. Now he was ready to use all the resources of his mind to save Athens from the ruin he had brought upon her. To the envoys from the Four Hundred he replied that this new council must abdicate immediately in favour of the old Council of Five Hundred. At the same time he prudently restrained the troops from going to Athens to punish the usurpers.

The Four Hundred began to feel insecure. Lacking a definite policy, they split into two factions—the extreme oligarchs and the moderates. With the help of the moderates the citizens overthrew the Four Hundred, after a three months' rule, and restored the democracy.

215. Alcibiades General of the Athenians (411–407 B.C.).—

The Four Hundred had brought only misfortune to Athens. Under their slack rule the war extended to the Hellespont, and most of the cities in that region revolted.

Soon, however, the Athenians were cheered by news of victories, especially of that at Cyz'icus, gained by

Alcibiades in 410 B.C. "Ships gone, our admiral dead, the men starving, at our wits' end what to do", was the laconic message which reached Sparta from Cyzicus. Lacedaemon then proposed a treaty of peace which should leave Athens the few possessions she still held; but the Athenians rejected the terms. It appeared doubtful whether a lasting peace could be secured without the complete triumph of one of the contending parties. The Athenians feared, too, that peace with Sparta would bring them another tyrannical

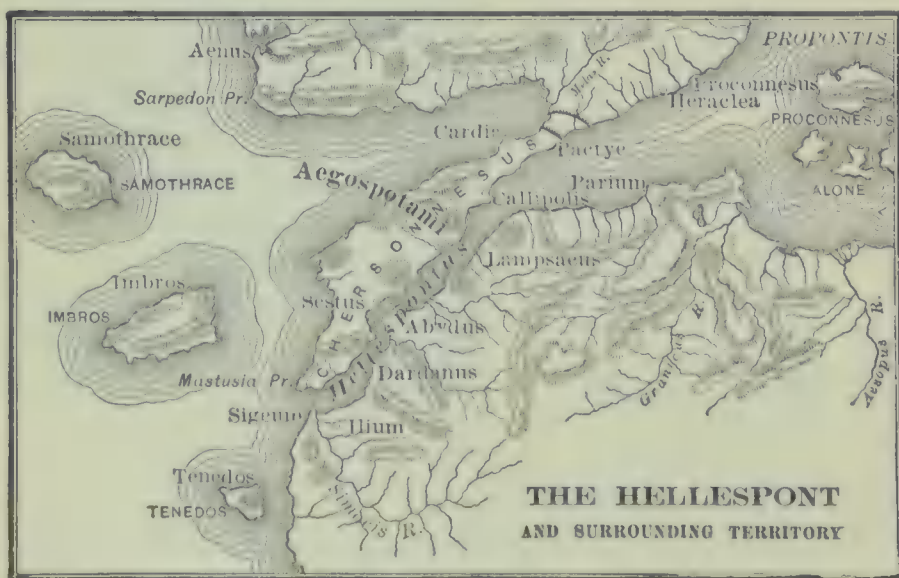


ALCIBIADES (?)

(Formerly supposed to be Themistocles. Vatican Museum, Rome)

oligarchy in place of their free constitution; and with Alcibiades as general they still hoped for success in the war.

216. The Battle of Notium (407 B.C.) ; the Fall of Alcibiades.—In 408 B.C., however, Darius, king of Persia, despatched Cyrus, the younger of his two sons, to take the satrapy of Sardis with large powers and to give all possible aid to the enemies of Athens. About the same time Ly-san'der, a born leader of men, a general and diplomatist of surpassing ability, came from Sparta to the seat of war. He visited Cyrus and easily won his way to the heart of the ambitious young prince. Next year he defeated a large Athenian fleet off No'ti-um, near Ephesus, capturing fifteen triremes. In the absence of Alcibiades, their admiral, the Athenians had risked a battle; and as a result they suffered their first reverse since the time of the Four Hundred. As they held Alcibiades responsible for



the misfortune, they failed to re-elect him general for the following year. Fearing to return home, he retired to a castle on the Hellespont which he had prepared for such an occasion. Thus the Athenians cast away a man who might have saved them. Though working to the end for his own glory, he was wiser now than in his youth and would have served his country well; but the confidence of his fellow-citizens in one who

had been so impious and so traitorous could not but be shaken by the slightest appearance of inattention to duty.¹

217. The Battle of Arginusae (406 B.C.).—The contending powers now put forth enormous efforts. In 406 B.C. the Athenians, with a hundred and fifty triremes, met a Peloponnesian fleet of a hundred and twenty triremes near the islands of Ar-gi-nu'sae, and gained a complete victory. Athens lost twenty-five ships, the enemy seventy, with their commander and crews, amounting to about fourteen thousand men. This was the severest battle of the war. After hearing of their disaster, the Lacedaemonians were willing for the sake of peace to leave Athens what she still possessed; but the Athenians again rejected the conditions.

The Athenians disgraced themselves for all time by putting to death six of the generals who had won the victory at Arginusae, on the ground that they had neglected to rescue the crews of the triremes wrecked in the battle. The commanders had ordered two ship-captains to attend to the work, but a sudden storm had prevented the rescue of the unfortunate sailors. The Athenians violated the constitution in condemning the generals collectively and in refusing them a sufficient opportunity for defence. Soon repenting of their conduct, they prosecuted those who had persuaded them to commit the murder.

218. The Battle of Aegospotami (405 B.C.).—Athens and Sparta made one more desperate effort to gain the mastery of the Aegean Sea. The opposing fleets met in the Hellespont—a hundred and eighty Athenian warships against two hundred from Peloponnese. The Athenians were on the European side at the mouth of the Ae-gos-pot'a-mi, the Peloponnesians on the opposite shore of the strait. Lysander, who was in command, surprised the Athenian fleet while the sailors were seeking provisions on shore. There was no resistance. It seems probable that the Athenians were betrayed to Lysander by one or more of their generals. Co'non alone of the commanders

¹ Afterward, while residing in Phrygia, he was assassinated by order of the Spartan authorities.

escaped with a few ships; and sending the official galley *Par'alus* to Athens with the news, he, though innocent, fled for his life with the rest of his ships to Cyprus.

219. Effects of the Battle; the Terms of Peace (404 B.C.).—“It was night when the *Paralus* reached Athens with her evil tidings, on receipt of which a bitter wail of woe broke forth. From Piraeus, following the line of the Long Walls up to the heart of the city, it swept and swelled, as each man passed the news to his neighbour. That night no man slept. There was mourning and sorrow for those who were lost, but the lamentation for the dead was merged in even deeper sorrow for themselves, as they pictured the evils they were about to suffer, the like of which they had inflicted upon the men of Melos”,¹ and upon many others. Ships and men were lost, and they were soon besieged by land and sea. Finally, when on the point of starvation, they sent envoys to Sparta with full powers to treat for peace. Thereupon a Peloponnesian congress was held in Sparta, in which the Corinthians, the Thebans, and some others proposed to destroy Athens utterly and to enslave the Athenians. But the Spartan ephors objected; they were unwilling, they said, that a city which had done such noble service for Greece in the perilous times of the Persian invasion should be enslaved. They would be content with milder conditions: That Athens should demolish the fortifications of Piraeus and the Long Walls, give up all her warships but twelve, follow Sparta in peace and in war, and permit the return of the exiled oligarchs. With these concessions Athens might remain free and “under the constitution of the fathers”. As the Athenian envoys entered their city, a great crowd gathered about them, trembling lest their mission should have proved fruitless; for many were dying of starvation. The majority ratified the treaty. Lysander entered Piraeus with his fleet, the exiles were already coming home, and the Peloponnesians began the destruction of the walls to the music of pipes, with the idea that they were celebrating the return of liberty to Hellas.

¹ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 2

III. THE PROGRESS OF CULTURE; THE NEW LEARNING

431-404 B.C.

220. Architecture and Sculpture.—In spite of the heavy expenses of the war, the Athenians built a new temple on the Acropolis—the E-rech-the'um—doubtless fulfilling a wish of



THE ERECHTHEUM

(Restoration. View from the west; two columns in north porch cut away to show interior; on right a corner of the Parthenon is seen)

Pericles. It stands north of the Parthenon. For two reasons it is irregular in plan—the ground on which it was built is uneven, and it was intended for two divinities, Athena and Erechtheus. The Athena worshipped here was the guardian of the state, as distinguished from the imperial goddess of the Parthenon. She was represented by a log rudely carved in human form.¹ This archaic image the Athenians venerated



PORCH OF THE MAIDENS
(Present condition ; from a photograph)

more highly than all the artistic statues of more recent times. To her belonged the eastern portion of the temple. In the western part lived Erechtheus, the hero, who, as the Athenians supposed, had once been king of Athens. This temple is the most beautiful example of the Ionic order known to us.¹ The rich carvings which adorn it have been the admiration of all artists, but no one has been able to equal them. The Porch of the Maidens is especially attractive. Though bearing heavy weights on their heads, the maidens stand at perfect ease. In dignified grace of posture and drapery they are little inferior to the sculptures of the Parthenon.²

Through want of money the Athenians of this period accomplished little else in art. Good work was done in other parts of Greece. The most notable statue of the period is that of a Winged Victory by Pae-o'ni-us at Olympia. The Messenians dedicated it there as a memorial of the capture of the Spartans at Sphacteria.³ The goddess is represented, not as standing on the lofty base, but floating above it with wings outstretched and garments streaming in the wind. It was a bold artistic experiment successfully achieved.



VICTORY

(By Paeonius. Restoration; original in Museum, Olympia)

221. Literature: the Drama.—Though the war discouraged art, it stimulated literature. Eu-rip'i-des (480–406 B.C.), a writer of dramas, belongs to this period. His education was broad; he had been an athlete, a painter, and a student of all the philosophy of the time. No ancient writer seems so modern as he; none knew human nature so well or sympathized so

¹ § 124

² A figure thus used as a support is sometimes termed a caryatid.

³ § 200

deeply with it, especially with women and slaves, with the unfortunate and the lowly. His plays represent a decline in art, but a great advance in kindly feeling. The most popular is the *Al-ces'tis*, in which the heroine dies to save her selfish husband's life. Among the strongest is the *Medea*, whose plot is drawn from the voyage of the Argonauts.¹ There remain in all nineteen plays of the ninety-two attributed to him by the ancients.

The most famous comic dramatist of Greece was Aristophanes (about 450–385 B.C.). His wit never failed; his fancy was as lively and as creative as Shakespeare's; the choruses of his plays are beautiful lyrics, fragrant of the country and woodland, free from the polish and from the restraints of life within the city. He has much, also, to tell of the times in which he lived. No one has given so true a picture of Athens and her people and at the same time such caricatures of her individual public men. We might compare his character sketches with the cartoons of the modern newspaper. The *Clouds* is an attack on the sophists. In his *Birds* he pictures an ideal state in Cloudland, whose citizens were the fowls of the air. The *Knights* holds Cleon up to ridicule; the *Wasps* presents the Athenian jury system in a comical light. He is said to have written fifty-four comedies, of which we have but eleven.

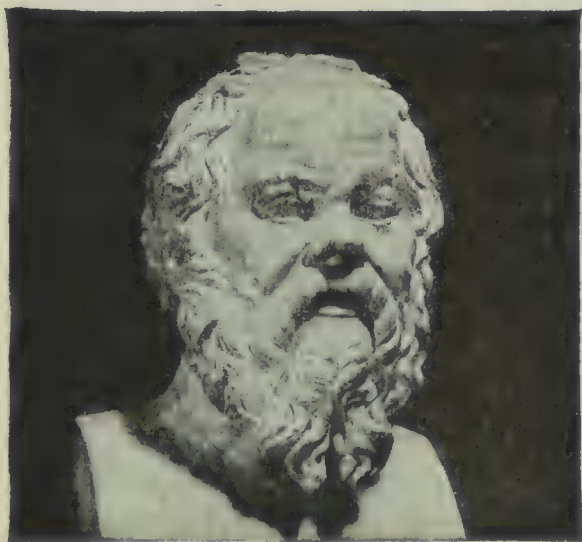
222. History: Thucydides.—Thucydides wrote a history of the Peloponnesian War, including the events which led up to it. He gathered the facts for it with extreme care by travel and personal observation and by questioning eye-witnesses of events. His work is therefore remarkable for accuracy. It contains no anecdotes or myths, such as make the history of Herodotus attractive.² In contrast with Herodotus, he is not only critical and correct, but exceedingly complex in style and thought. He goes deeply into the character and motives of political parties and into the causes and connection of events. It is the first scientific history ever written. He admits that his strictly truthful

narrative may disappoint the ear, but believes that it will prove useful to any one who desires a true picture of the past and of what is likely to happen in the future in the ordinary course of human events. As his work was to be of service especially to generals, he narrates campaigns with all the details, but pays little attention to internal improvements and civilization.

223. The Sophists.—Since the age of Pericles the sophists¹—professors of useful knowledge—were increasing in number and in influence. As they aimed chiefly to prepare their pupils for statesmanship, they laid great stress on rhetoric. This new branch of learning was a system of rules for the composition and delivery of speeches. Through such study, the sophists asserted, any man could fit himself in a short time for public speaking and for statesmanship. It is true that the teachings of certain eminent men of this class contained much that was wholesome. They began the study of grammar and philology and the criticism of literature. They were founders of the science of ethics, a principle of which was that all men were by nature brothers and that slavery was therefore wrong. But many were mere jugglers in words; and the spirit of the class was sceptical toward all existing beliefs and customs. They called into question the laws on which state and society rested. Their thinking on political subjects undermined the democracy and led to the establishment of the oligarchy in 411 B.C.; it weakened Athens in the later years of the war. The sophistic spirit is strong in Euripides and can be discovered even in Thucydides; in fact, it influenced all the thinking of the time. Nearly all the educated accepted the view that the present age was one of enlightenment in contrast with the ignorance and superstition of the past. The science, philosophy, and literature controlled by this sophistic view may be aptly termed the “New Learning”.

224. Socrates (469–399 B.C.).—The worthlessness of the great body of sophistic teaching was pointed out by Socrates, a man whose thoughts and character have left a deep impres-

sion on the world for all time. In personal appearance he was "the ugliest of the sons of men". With his enormously large bald head, protruding eyes, flat nose, and thick lips, he resembled the satyr masks in the shop windows at Athens. Big-bodied and bandy-legged, he stalked like a pelican through the streets. But beneath the satyr mask was a mind of extraordinary power. In his youth he was but a sculptor—a tradesman from



SOCRATES
(Capitoline Museum, Rome)

the Greek point of view : and he did not succeed in his work, as he had the habit of standing for hours, or even for a day and night together, wholly lost in thought. Then, too, he believed himself inspired—a spirit accompanied him through life warning him against doing evil. Forsaking an occupation in which, under the circumstances, he could make but a poor living, he devoted himself to

searching for truth. The sophists had said, "We are ignorant". Socrates, admitting this, heralded a new era in thought when he said, "I will seek knowledge", thus asserting, contrary to the sophists, the possibility of learning the truth. Though people called him a sophist, he gave no course of study and charged no fee, but simply questioned any one whom he met till he had convinced his opponent in the argument that the latter knew nothing of the subject of conversation. In all this he thought he was fulfilling a heaven-appointed mission—the quest of truth with the help of his fellowmen. Taking no thought of natural or of physical science, he busied himself with moral duties, inquiring, for instance, what was just and what unjust, what was bravery

and what cowardice, what a state was and what the character of a statesman. True knowledge, he asserted, was the only guide to virtuous conduct. Thus Socrates laid for ethical science a solid foundation, on which men could build far better than on the sands of sophistry.

In religion his teaching tended to strengthen the traditional faith. He often spoke of the gods in the plural, and he performed conscientiously all the religious duties of the citizen in the customary way. But he sometimes spoke, too, of one God, the creator of the universe. His idea seems to have been that the other gods were subordinate to the one supreme being. Moral conduct he based on religion as well as on the reason. We should be virtuous, he taught, not only because virtue is useful to us, but also because it is pleasing to God. God is good because he likes that very conduct which is most to our own advantage. In this way Socrates reconciled knowledge with faith.

About the close of the Peloponnesian War, thinking people grew weary of the uncertainty of the new learning and went back to the old faith. Socrates helped this movement, but was himself destroyed by it. In 399 B.C. he was brought to trial on the ground that he had corrupted the youth and had acted impiously toward the gods, although, in fact, he had done exactly the contrary. The accuser was conscientious but ignorant, and mistook him for a sophist; and the jury condemned him to death. Though he might have escaped from the country, he considered it the duty of a good citizen to obey the laws even when unjustly administered. Cheerfully he drank the cup of hemlock—a poison which caused a painless death. It was the Athenian method of execution. In this way he crowned a useful life by the death of a saint and martyr. Inspired by the great ideal, his disciples scattered throughout Hellas, founding schools of philosophy based on his principles. Through them Socrates influenced the thought of all later time.

CHAPTER XVII

SICILY: THE TYRANT AND THE LIBERATOR

413-337 B.C.

225. The Carthaginians invade Sicily (409-404 B.C.).—The fall of Athens was a great misfortune to the Greeks of the West as well as to those of the East. For nearly seventy years the terror of her name had kept both the Carthaginians and the Persians at bay; but on the overthrow of her naval supremacy these two great foreign powers again hoped to conquer parts of Hellas. On the invitation of Segesta, which was still threatened by Selinus,¹ Carthage sent over to Sicily a vast fleet conveying an army of a hundred thousand men under King Han'ni-bal, grandson of that Hamilcar who had met his death at Himera. This great armament laid siege to Selinus; on the ninth day it stormed the city and butchered the inhabitants (409 B.C.). Thence Hannibal marched to Himera, where the siege and the massacre were repeated. Three thousand captives were led to the spot where Hamilcar had sacrificed himself² and there were killed with horrid torture. In this way Hannibal sought to appease the hungry appetite of his grandfather's ghost.

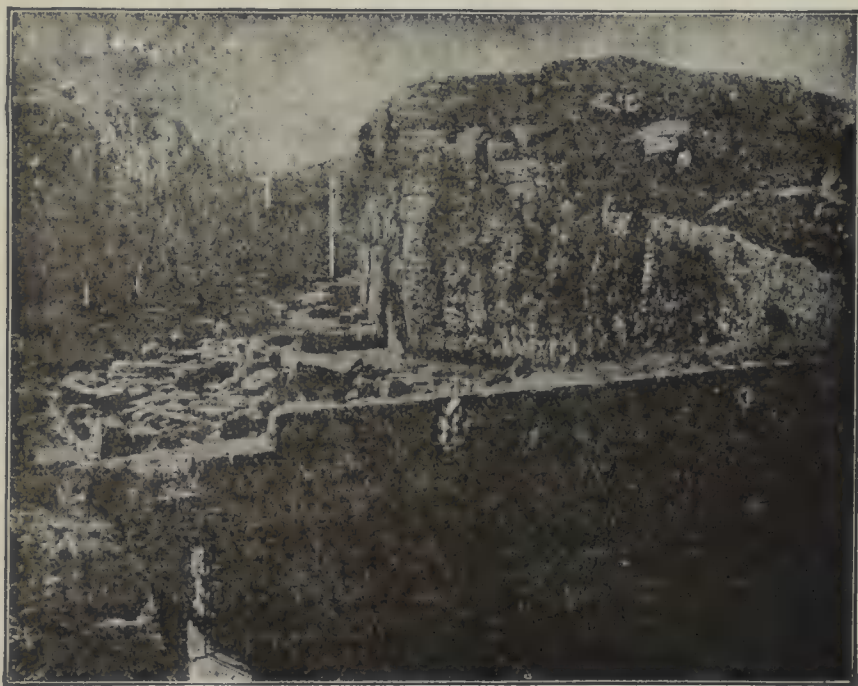
A fresh army of mercenaries next invested Acragas, then the wealthiest and most luxurious city in the Greek world. Though reinforced by their neighbours, the inhabitants finally abandoned their city and settled in Leontini. Himilcon took up his winter quarters in deserted Acragas and sent much of its wealth, including many works of art, to Carthage (405 B.C.).

Soon afterward a young officer of Syracuse, named Dyonys'i-us, made himself tyrant of his city. He compelled the people of Ge'la and of Cam-a-ri'na to abandon their cities to the invader and to retire to Syracuse. Great was the indigna-

¹ § 206

² § 159

tion of all classes against the usurper; but through his mercenaries he maintained himself against every attempt to assassinate or to depose him. In 404 B.C. he concluded a treaty with the Carthaginians, by which he yielded to them the whole island except the Sicels—a native nation in the interior—and the



FORT EURYELUS

(A corner in the Wall of Dionysius at Syracuse, interior view; from a photograph)

Greeks of the eastern coast. The Carthaginians, for their part, acknowledged him as the absolute ruler of Syracuse.

226. War with Carthage (397–392 B.C.).—But Dionysius did not intend to yield Sicily forever to the enemy. Seven years he busied himself with increasing his power and with preparing for war on a grand scale. He built an immense wall about Syracuse; he organized an army of eighty thousand infantry; his engineers invented a new instrument, afterward known as the ballista, for throwing large stones against the enemy's walls. In his new fleet were more than three hundred vessels, some of them quinqueremes—huge galleys with five banks of oars, invented by his shipwrights. Though utterly unscrupu-

lous, though he ground down the rich with taxes, and violated nearly every sentiment dear to the Greek heart, yet he gained a certain degree of popularity by the military preparations which made him appear as a strong champion of Hellas against the barbarian.

He began war upon Carthage in 397 B.C., and with his vast armament nearly swept the Phoenicians from the island; but



in the following year Himilcon, landing in Sicily, regained everything which Carthage had lost, and Messene in addition. Most of the Messenians escaped, but Himilcon compelled his men to burn the woodwork of the town and to grind the stones to powder. The invaders then defeated the fleet of Dionysius and be-

sieged the tyrant in Syracuse by land and sea. The newly built ramparts saved the city. The siege was raised and the enemy pushed back till he held but the extreme western end of the island. All the rest Dionysius secured by the treaty of 392 B.C.

227. Conquests of Dionysius in Italy (to 287 B.C.); Other Wars.—Meantime Dionysius was conquering the Greeks of southern Italy. In the year 387 B.C. we find his kingdom extending as far as Croton. Some of the conquered people he removed to Syracuse, others he sold into slavery. Everywhere

he showed the utmost disregard for sacred places and institutions, but the Greeks were powerless to resist.

In two more wars which he carried on with Carthage he failed to dislodge the foreigners from Sicily, but still held the larger part of the island, as well as his Italian possessions. He aided the Lacedaemonians in maintaining their supremacy over eastern Greece,¹ and his power was recognized as the greatest in the Hellenic world.

228. Dionysius in Peace; his Character.—Though engaged in wars to the end, in his later years a desire for peace grew upon him. He was a poet as well as a general. A story is told that Phi-lox'e-nus, a poet at his court, was imprisoned in a stone quarry as a punishment for criticizing the tyrant's verse. When liberated soon afterward and invited to hear another recital, he endured the reading for a few moments and then cried out, "Take me back to the stone quarry!" A splendid display of horses and chariots, of athletes and actors, which Dionysius made at the Olympic games, in like manner won no applause. The orator Lys'i-as, from Athens, tried to incite the Greeks there assembled to begin war upon the tyrant by plundering his rich tents. The holiness of the festival prevented this outrage, but the reciters of his poems were hissed, and his chariots were overturned in the race. Far from winning the favour and admiration of the Greeks by his exhibit, the tyrant discovered that he was universally hated.

In 367 B.C. Dionysius died, after reigning thirty-eight years. No tyrant could have ruled so long without the possession of strong qualities. The private character of Dionysius was without reproach. On the other hand, he never hesitated at bloodshed, confiscation of property, or anything else which would make him safe. Many spies in his pay watched the movements of those whom he suspected at home and abroad. With all his failings, he performed a service for Greece and for Europe by protecting Hellenic civilization in Italy and Sicily.

229. Civil Strife (367-345); Timoleon the Liberator (345-337 B.C.).—A period of civil strife following the death of Dionysius was at length ended by Ti-mo'le-on, a general sent out by Corinth. Timoleon was a man of remarkable ability and strength of character. Gradually he overthrew the tyrants who since the death of Dionysius had usurped the power in many Sicilian cities. He then gave the cities good laws and settled governments. On the Cri-mi'sus River he met the vast mercenary force of Carthage which had come to Sicily for the purpose of overwhelming him. Throwing his troops upon the Carthaginian centre, which had just crossed the Crimisus, he crushed it with one mighty blow. A sudden storm beat full in the faces of the enemy; thousands were drowned in attempting to recross the swollen stream, and thousands were killed or made captive. The victory was complete (340 B.C.).

When he had liberated all Greek Sicily from Carthage and from tyranny, he joined the cities in a federation, with Syracuse as leader in war. All members of the union were guaranteed their freedom. He next turned his attention to the improvement of the country. As the long anarchy had left large tracts of land uncultivated and without owners, he invited Greeks from other countries to come and settle on the vacant farms. Thousands answered the call; a few peaceful years brought prosperity to fruitful Sicily, and Timoleon lived to see the desolate island bloom again like a garden.

After ruling eight years, he resigned his dictatorship, and passed the remainder of his days a private citizen of Syracuse, honoured by all as their liberator. When he died his fellow-citizens established an annual festival in memory of the man "who had suppressed the tyrants, had overthrown the foreigner, had replenished the desolate cities, and had restored to the Sicilians the privilege of living under their own laws". These achievements of Timoleon, unselfishly wrought, serve to deepen the shadow upon the tyranny of Dionysius. Unfortunately the idyllic peace created by the Liberator was to prove even more fleeting than that earlier security under the despot's heavy yoke. Tyranny was reëstablished, and finally the island fell under the power of Rome (Ch. XXIX).

CHAPTER XVIII

THE SUPREMACY OF SPARTA

404-371 B.C.

230. The Decarchies.—The overthrow of Athens, at the end of the Peloponnesian War,¹ left Sparta supreme in the East as Syracuse was in the West. At the summit of power stood Lysander, who had done more than any other man to bring eastern Greece under Spartan leadership. He now had an excellent opportunity to improve upon the rule of Athens; but, though a man of rare talents, he lacked the genius for such a task. He could think of nothing beyond the long-established Spartan and Athenian methods of dealing with allies and subjects.

In each newly allied state, accordingly, he set up a decarchy, or board of ten oligarchs, with full control of the government. To support the decarchies, he stationed Lacedaemonian garrisons in most of the cities. The commander, termed "harmost", was usually a man of low birth, servile to Lysander, and brutal toward the defenceless people over whom he kept watch. Relying on his support, the oligarchs killed or expelled their political enemies, confiscated property through sheer greed, and mistreated the women and children. While Athens ruled, a man could feel that life, property, and family were safe; but under Sparta the Greeks found themselves degraded to the condition of perioeci.

231. The Thirty at Athens (404-403 B.C.).—At Athens Lysander caused a board of thirty to be established, with absolute authority over the state. The guiding spirit of the board was Crit'i-as, a noble of the highest rank. He was cold and calculating, ambitious and unscrupulous; within his short career he developed a strange appetite for blood and plunder.

¹ § 219

Soon after taking possession of the government the Thirty began to kill their political opponents. For their own safety, they called in a Lacedaemonian force of seven hundred men and lodged it in the Acropolis at the expense of the state. Supported by these troops, the Thirty proceeded with their bloody work. As they often murdered men for their property, they preferred wealthy victims. Hundreds fled into exile; but the Spartan ephors, to uphold the Thirty, warned the fugitives away from all parts of Greece. Some of the states sheltered them in defiance of the ephors. Thebes, long the enemy of Athens, became their rallying-place. Their number daily increased, because of the cruelty of the government at home.

232. Democracy restored (403 B.C.).—The crowd of exiles swelled into an army. At the head of seventy patriots, Thrasybulus crossed the border from Thebes, seized Phy'le, a strong fort high up on Mount Par'nes, and held it against an attack of the enemy. With his army increased to a thousand, he soon afterward seized Piraeus. When the Thirty with their Lacedaemonian garrison and citizen supporters marched down to attack him, he defeated them and killed Critias.

The patriots returned to Athens. They pardoned the wrongdoing of all except the Thirty and a few other guilty officials. The Athenians now had had enough of oligarchy. Their two recent experiments in that form of constitution—the rule of the Four Hundred and of the Thirty—proved that the government of the so-called "better class" was a delusion and a lie and that the men who claimed superior privileges on the ground of virtue were in reality cut-throats and robbers. The great mass of the people, who had little wealth or education, were far more obedient to law and exercised greater self-control in public life. Henceforth Athens was content with democracy.

233. The Expedition of Cyrus (401 B.C.).—Although the Thirty fell, the Lacedaemonians upheld the decarchies in the other cities of their empire. It was a part of their policy as well to keep on good terms with Cyrus, who had done so much to give them the victory over Athens. On the death of Darius,

the late king of Persia, Ar-tax-erx'es, his elder son, succeeded to the throne, while Cyrus, the younger, still held at Sardis the command of the most desirable part of Asia Minor.¹ Wishing to be king in place of his brother, Cyrus prepared a great force of Asiatic troops and thirteen thousand Greeks. The Lacedaemonians not only favoured his enlistment of these mercenaries from Greece but even sent him seven hundred heavy-armed troops from their own state. With this army the prince marched into the very heart of the Persian empire and met his brother in battle at Cu-nax'a, near Babylon. Cyrus was killed and his Asiatics retired from the field; but the little Hellenic force was victorious over the immense army of the king.²

234. The Return of the "Ten Thousand".—Then the Greeks, under a truce, began their retreat in a northerly direction. Their generals were entrapped and slain by the Persian commander, Tis-sa-pher'nes, a rival of Cyrus. Thus they were left leaderless in the midst of the enemy's country, surrounded by hostile nations, with impassable rivers and snow-covered mountains between them and home, with no guide even to tell them which way to go. While they were in despair, encouragement and good advice came from a young Athenian who had accompanied the expedition. This was Xen'o-phon, a pupil of Socrates the philosopher. Taking courage from his words, they chose new generals, among them Xenophon. Then they set out on their northward march, harassed at every step by the enemy. From Media they entered the Car-du'chi-an mountains, which were covered with snow and inhabited by fierce barbarians. In passing through this rough country the Greeks suffered every kind of hardship and were constantly assailed by the natives, who rolled stones down upon them from the heights, or harassed them in the rear, or blocked their advance. Their losses were heavy, and the wonder is that any escaped alive.

Thence they entered Armenia. Their way was now easier; but it was winter, and they still suffered from the cold. The

¹ § 141

² The lowest estimate of ancient writers is 400,000. Some modern historians consider this number a great exaggeration.

satrap of the country promised them a free passage, but proved treacherous, and the fighting continued. After a long, weary march, full of adventures and of narrow escapes, they neared the Black Sea. As the footsore van reached a certain height overlooking the water, it raised a joyful shout, "The Sea! The Sea!" The rest of the soldiers ran quickly up to enjoy the good sight and to share in the cheering. The men embraced one another and their officers with tearful eyes. It seemed like home. They had lost about a third of their number in a journey of perhaps a thousand miles. The thrilling story of the expedition of Cyrus and of the retreat of the "Ten Thousand" is told in the *An-ab'a-sis* of Xenophon. The courage, harmony, and discipline of these mercenaries in the midst of such hardships and dangers prove the high political and moral character of the Greeks. To the world of that time, however, the expedition was chiefly significant as evidence of Persian weakness. The discovery that so small a force could penetrate to the very heart of the empire and return almost unscathed was the first step toward its conquest.

235. War between Lacedaemon and Persia (beginning 400 B.C.).—The expedition of Cyrus had two important effects: It brought the Persian power into contempt among the Greeks; and it immediately caused war between Persia and Lacedaemon. For this state, by supporting Cyrus, had incurred the anger of the Persian king. A strong force of Peloponnesians crossed to Asia Minor, and, joining the remnant of the "Ten Thousand", began war upon the Persians. In 396 B.C. Agesila'us, who had recently succeeded to one of the thrones at Sparta, came with a few thousand additional troops and took command in person. The little lame king was gentle and courteous. Faithful in friendship, simple in life, and incorruptible, he was an ideal Spartan. Though forty years of age at his accession, he was wholly without experience in command; but he proved himself an able king and general. With his small army he freed the Greeks of Asia Minor from the Persian yoke.

236. The Corinthian War (395-387 B.C.).—The plan of Agesilaus for further conquest was rudely disturbed by trouble at home. Sparta was selfish and tyrannical; the greater allied states, as Thebes and Corinth, wished a share in her supremacy; the lesser communities desired at least their independence. As they were all disappointed in their hopes, they began to show discontent. In 395 B.C. they provoked Lacedaemon to a war which lasted eight years. This is called the Corinthian War, because the struggle centred chiefly about Corinth and the Isthmus. Athens, Corinth, and several other states took the side of Thebes, while Persia supplied the funds.

In the second year of the war, a combined Greek and Phœnician fleet under Conon,¹ the Athenian admiral, destroyed the fleet of Lacedaemon off Cni'dus. Thus the Spartan naval supremacy fell at a single blow. Conon sailed from island to island, expelling the harmosts and freeing all from Lacedaemonian rule. The next year he anchored his fleet in the harbours of Piræus, and with the help of Persia and of the neighbours of Athens he began to rebuild the Long Walls.

Nearer home the Lacedaemonians were scarcely more fortunate. Lysander was killed; it became necessary to recall Agesilaus. But the victories he gained on his return helped Sparta little. One of the most important facts in the history of this war is that the well-trained light troops of Athens were now proving superior to the heavy infantry of Lacedaemon. Near Corinth they attacked a battalion of the Spartan phalanx,² six hundred strong, and cut it to pieces. The Lacedaemonians never fully recovered from the blow; the military organization which had always been the foundation of their supremacy in Greece proved defective.

237. The Treaty of Antalcidas (387 B.C.).—Sparta acknowledged her failure in the war by coming to terms with Persia. The Persian king was ready to use his money and influence for the preservation of a peace which should assure him the possession of Asia Minor; and Lacedaemon could do nothing but accept his terms. Accordingly, her ambassador, An-tal'ci-das,

¹ § 218

² § 89

and the king's legate invited all the Greek states to send deputies to Sardis for the purpose of concluding peace. When they arrived, the Persian legate showed them the king's seal on a document which he held in his hand, and read from it the following terms imposed by Persia upon the Greeks: "King Artaxerxes deems it just that the cities in Asia, with the islands of Cla-zom'e-nae and Cyprus, should belong to himself; the rest of the Hellenic cities, both small and great, he will leave independent, with the exception of Lem'nos, Im'bros, and Scy'ros, which three are to belong to Athens as of yore. Should any of the parties concerned not accept this peace, I, Artaxerxes, together with those who share my views, will war against the offenders by land and sea, with ships and money".¹ As the Greeks believed it impossible to wage war successfully with both Lacedaemon and Persia, they accepted the terms. It was well understood that Lacedaemon was to enforce the treaty for the king; and this position made her again the undisputed head of eastern Greece.

238. The Violence of Sparta.—The Lacedaemonians still ruled according to the policy of Lysander—a combination of brute force and cunning. It was their aim to weaken the states from which they might expect resistance. In northern Greece they assailed the Chalcidic League, which, though newly formed, had already grown powerful. While at war with this League they seized the Cadmea—the citadel of Thebes—and occupied it with a garrison in open violation of law (383 B.C.). Even the citizens of Sparta, not to speak of the Greeks in general, were indignant with the officer who had done the violent deed; but Agesilaus excused him on the ground that the act was advantageous to Sparta, thus setting forth the principle that Greece was to be ruled for the benefit merely of the governing city. Though the Lacedaemonians punished the officer, they approved the deed by leaving the garrison in the Cadmea.

239. Tyranny arouses Resistance.—The Lacedaemonians were now at the height of their power. Their city was the

¹ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, v. 1

acknowledged leader of all eastern Greece, supported by Persia in the East and by Dionysius in the West.¹ But their policy was soon to awaken forces which were to overthrow their supremacy forever. Resistance was first aroused in Thebes, where the oppressor's hand was heaviest. In that city was an oligarchy somewhat like the Thirty at Athens. Supported by the Lacedaemonian garrison, these oligarchs ruled by terrorism, imprisoning some opponents and banishing others. The exiles took refuge in Athens and there found sympathy. Among the refugees was Pe-lop'i-das, a wealthy Theban, full of patriotism and brave to recklessness—the very man his city needed to save her. Pelopidas had left behind him in Thebes an intimate friend, Ep-am-in-on'das, an orator of remarkable keenness and force, and a philosopher.

The oligarchs thought Epaminondas a harmless dreamer; but, while they allowed him to remain unmolested at home, he was attracting into his school the most capable youths of Thebes, and was arousing in them the moral power which was to set his country free. The young Thebans, who delighted in physical training, learned from the philosopher that mere size of muscle was of no advantage, that they should aim rather at agility and endurance. He encouraged them to wrestle with the Lacedaemonian soldiers in the Cadmea, that when the crisis should come, they might meet them without fear.

240. The Liberation of Thebes (379 B.C.).—Meantime Pelopidas at Athens was planning to return with the exiles to overthrow the oligarchy. Four years passed in this manner, and it was now the winter of 379 B.C. The Chalcidic League had fallen; resistance to Sparta was becoming every day more hopeless; there was need of haste.

Selecting twelve of the younger men, Pelopidas set out on the dangerous mission of striking a secret blow for his country. They dressed themselves like huntsmen, and, accompanied by dogs, crossed Mount Parnes toward Thebes in groups of two and three. A snow-storm had just set in when at dark

these men, their faces muffled in their cloaks, entered the city by various gates and met another band of conspirators in the house of their leader. On the following night an official who was also in the plot held a banquet, to which he invited all the magistrates except one, who was the head of the oligarchic party.

While these magistrates were carousing, some of the conspirators entered, disguised as women, and killed them. At the same time Pelopidas with two companions went to the house of the remaining magistrate, and after a hard struggle made away with him. The next morning Epaminondas introduced the leaders of the conspiracy to the assembled citizens, who elected them Boeotarchs, or chief magistrates of Boeotia. A democracy was now established, and the garrison in the Cadmea surrendered with the privilege of departing unharmed. Thebes was again free.

241. The Athenian Maritime Confederacy (377 B.C.).—The Athenians, though in sympathy with their neighbour, would gladly have remained neutral, had not Lacedaemon driven them to war by a treacherous attempt to seize Piraeus. They renewed their alliance with the maritime cities, which had deserted them for Sparta, but were now seeking their protection. The new League was to be a union of the Greeks for the defence of their liberties against Sparta. Each allied state sent a deputy to a congress at Athens. It was agreed that the leading city alone should have no representative in this body, in order that the deputies might not be influenced by the presidency or even by the presence of an Athenian. To be binding, a measure had to receive the approval of both Athens and the congress. This arrangement made the leading city equal to all the others combined, but prevented her from acquiring absolute power such as she had exercised over the members of the earlier Confederacy. There were still to be contributions of ships and money, but as Athens was no longer in a position to compel the allies to perform their duties, the League remained far weaker than it had been in the preceding century.

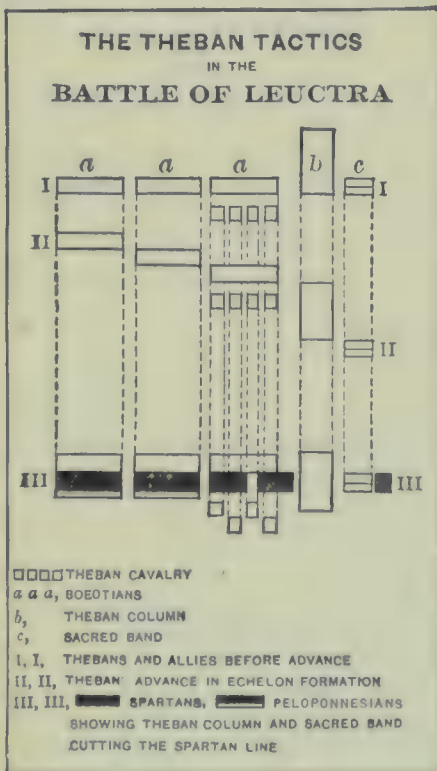
242. The Peace Convention (371 B.C.).—As the new alliance included Thebes and about seventy other cities, it was more than a match for Peloponnese; but the Thebans finally withdrew from the war and busied themselves with subduing the Boeotian towns. Left to carry on the struggle alone and displeased with the policy of Thebes, Athens opened negotiations with Lacedaemon. Thereupon a convention of all the Greek states met in Sparta to establish an Hellenic peace. Though the treaty of Antalcidas was renewed, the Persian king could no longer arbitrate among the Greeks—they now felt able to manage their own affairs. It is interesting to see them acting together to establish peace, and endeavouring to form one Hellenic state on the basis of local independence and equal rights. The convention resolved to accept peace, on the understanding that every Greek state should be independent and that all fleets and armies should be disbanded.

Though all were ready to make peace on these terms, trouble arose in regard to ratifying the treaty. Sparta insisted on signing it in behalf of her allies, but would not grant the same privilege to Thebes. When, accordingly, Agesilaus demanded that the Boeotian towns should be permitted to sign for themselves, Epaminondas, the Theban deputy, declared that his city had as good a right to represent all Boeotia as Sparta to represent all Laconia. His boldness startled the convention. For ages the Greeks had stood in awe of Sparta, and no one had dared question her authority within the borders of Lacedaemon. But the deputy from Thebes was winning his point with the members, when Agesilaus in great rage sprang to his feet and bade him say once for all whether Boeotia should be independent. "Yes, if you will give the same freedom to Laconia", Epaminondas replied. The Spartan king then struck the name of Thebes from the list of states represented in the convention, excluding her thus from the peace.

243. The Battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.).—The treaty was signed, the convention dissolved, the deputies returned home. All eyes turned toward the impending conflict; every one ex-

pected to see the city of Epaminondas punished, perhaps destroyed, for the boldness of her leader.

Leuctra was a small town in Boeotia south-west of Thebes. The battle fought there in 371 B.C. was in its political effects the most important in which Greeks only were engaged; to the student of military affairs it is one of the most interesting in history.



As a result of studies in military science, Epaminondas introduced a sweeping revolution in warfare. The Boeotians had always made excellent soldiers, and in the Peloponnesian War they had successfully tried the experiment of massing their men in a heavy phalanx. This solid body of infantry was to be the chief element in the new military system; Epaminondas was to convert the experiences of his countrymen into the most important principle of military science—the principle of concentrating the attack upon a single point of the enemy's line. Opposite to the Peloponnesian right, made up of Lacedaemonians under one of their kings, he

massed his left in a column fifty deep and led it to the attack. The enemy, drawn up uniformly twelve deep in the old-fashioned way, could not withstand the terrific shock. The Boeotian centre purposely advanced more slowly than the column, and the right still more slowly, so that these divisions of the line took only the slightest part in the battle. But the Boeotian horsemen, who were well trained and high-spirited, easily put to rout the inefficient cavalry of the enemy; and the Sacred Band, Epaminondas' school of Theban youths, followed the

impetuous Pelopidas in an irresistible charge on the extreme Spartan right. The king was killed, his army thoroughly beaten by a much smaller force, and the supremacy of Sparta was at an end.

244. Estimate of the Spartan Policy and Power.—At the close of the Peloponnesian War the Athenian empire had passed under the control of Sparta, which continued to treat it as subject. But the Spartans were less capable of governing an empire than the Athenians had been; they were less intelligent, less just and mild. They had no experience in governing an empire, no knowledge of finance, and no system of administering justice, as had the Athenians. They could think of controlling their subjects only as they did their perioeci, or in the most favoured cases, their Peloponnesian allies. Naturally they were guilty of many harsh and tyrannous acts.

Notwithstanding all these facts, we must admit that after Athens had proved her inability to unite Hellas, it was well for Sparta to make the attempt. A great number of liberty-loving states could not possibly be welded into a nation without the use of force and the infliction of some temporary injustice. But the Greeks were learning to co-operate in safeguarding their rights against Sparta, while adapting themselves to her supremacy. In time the system might have proved as easy and acceptable to the Greeks as it was efficient for protection.

But the number of Spartans had dwindled to a few hundreds, and in military skill they were now surpassed by both Athenians and Thebans. Unable to rule by intelligence and justice, they lacked the strength, too, for keeping the city-states in obedience. The result was the end of their supremacy.

From this point of view, the battle of Leuctra, a triumph of local patriotism, was a great misfortune to Hellas. Had Sparta retained the leadership, she might have preserved the independence of the nation. After her fall no city was strong enough for the task.

CHAPTER XIX

THEBES ATTEMPTS TO GAIN THE SUPREMACY

371-362 B.C.

245. The Unfailing Courage of Sparta.—When news of the misfortune reached Sparta, the ephors delivered “the names of the slain to their friends and families, with a word of warning to the women not to make any loud lamentation, but to bear their sorrow in silence; and the next day it was a striking spectacle to see those who had relations among the slain moving to and fro in public with bright and radiant looks, whilst of those whose friends were reported to be living, barely a man was to be seen, and these flitted by with lowered heads and scowling brows, as if in humiliation”.¹

Spartan laws degraded runaways and deprived them of citizenship and of all other honours; they had to go unwashed and meanly clad, with beards half shaven. Any one who met them in the street was at liberty to beat them, and they dared not resist. On the present occasion Sparta had sent out seven hundred citizens, of whom three hundred had disgraced themselves by surviving defeat. What should be done with them?

As Sparta had only about fifteen hundred citizens remaining, to disfranchise three hundred would be ruinous. Agesilaus, who was requested by the government to settle this serious question, decided to let the law sleep in the present case, to be revived, however, for the future. In this way he piloted his country safely through the crisis.

246. Effects of the Battle on Peloponnese.—In Peloponnese the wildest confusion and anarchy arose. To the friends of Sparta it seemed that the world was falling into chaos, now that she had lost control, while her enemies rejoiced in the freedom assured them by her downfall. The first to profit by

¹ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vi. 4

the revolution were the Arcadians, most of whom were still shepherds and peasants, living in villages and following the Lacedaemonians in war. They now resolved to unite in a permanent league for the defence of their liberties. They then founded a new city, Meg-a-lop'o-lis, to be the seat of government and a stronghold against Sparta. When the Arcadians were attacked by the Lacedaemonians, Epaminondas came to their help at the head of an army of Thebans and their allies—in all, seventy thousand men. With this great host he invaded Laconia and ravaged it from end to end; for the first time in history Spartan women saw the smoke from the camp-fires of an enemy.

Unable to capture Sparta, Epaminondas went to Messenia to aid the revolt of that country. With his help the Messenians built and fortified a new city, Messene, near the citadel of Mount Ithome, on a spot made sacred by many a heroic struggle for liberty. Messenia became an independent state. The result was that Lacedaemon, deprived of a third of her territory, sank to the condition of a second-rate power. Thereafter she would consent to no compact with other Greek states which did not include the recovery of her lost territory. As the Greeks would not grant this condition, they were deprived of Sparta's invaluable aid in future wars for the preservation of their liberty.

247. Theban Relations with Northern Greece, with Persia, and with Athens.—Within the next few years the Thebans extended their influence over Thessaly and Macedon. This was the work of Pelopidas. As the majority of the continental states were allies of the Thebans, they were now the leading power through the entire length of the peninsula.

This activity of the Thebans everywhere disturbed existing arrangements but failed to bring peace; for their military strength fell short of their ambition. When it became apparent to the Thebans themselves that they were too weak to maintain order in Hellas, they sent Pelopidas as ambassador to Susa, to bring the influence and money of the king to bear once more in favour of peace. Artaxerxes was ready to dic-

tate another treaty; but the Greeks had learned to despise him, and would no longer endure his interference. As this disgraceful business failed, Epaminondas turned resolutely to the almost hopeless task of reducing Greece to order by force of iron. The chief resistance to his plan came now from Athens. The maritime city he had to meet on her own element, as she refused to dismantle her fleet at the command of Persia. Though as well supplied as Attica with coasts, Boeotia had little commerce and no fleet worthy of mention before the time of Epaminondas. But suddenly his state became a naval power, the great tactician stepped into the place of admiral, and an armament went forth to sweep Athens from the sea.

248. The Battle of Mantinea (362 B.C.).—But Epaminondas had no time to complete this task. He had already made three invasions of Peloponnese, and again he found it necessary to march across the Isthmus to restore order. Many allies joined him; Athens and Sparta were his chief enemies. The Theban commander attempted by forced marches to capture Sparta, then Mantinea, in the hope that he might thus establish peace without a battle; but in both attempts he failed.

Then came the conflict at Mantinea. Notwithstanding their tedious journeys, the condition of his troops was excellent; they were full of enthusiasm and had absolute confidence in their commander. "There was no labour which they would shrink from, either by night or by day; there was no danger they would flinch from; and with the scantiest provisions, their discipline never failed them. And so, when he gave them his last orders to prepare for impending battle, they obeyed with alacrity. He spoke the word; the cavalry fell to whitening their helmets, the heavy infantry of the Arcadians began inscribing the club (of Heracles) as a crest on their shields, in imitation of the Thebans, and all were engaged in sharpening their lances and swords and in polishing their heavy shields."¹

Taking the enemy by surprise, Epaminondas repeated the tactics of Leuctra with perfect success. His charging column,

¹ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 5

now in the form of a wedge, cut through the opposing ranks and shattered the enemy's host.

The great commander fell mortally wounded with a javelin. Carried to the rear, he heard the victorious shouts of the Thebans, but when told that his fellow-generals were both dead, he advised his countrymen to make peace. The surgeon then drew out the javelin point, and Epaminondas died. Pelopidas had recently been slain in battle in Thessaly. The heroes were buried where they fell; and their gravestones in northern and southern Greece stood as monuments of Theban leadership, which ended with their lives.

Pelopidas was bold and chivalrous, a zealous patriot and an able commander. Epaminondas was a great military genius. Personally he was without ambition, content to live as a private citizen, or to serve his state in the lowest offices. Absolutely pure in character, he aimed only to promote the welfare of his city and of Hellas. Though in statesmanship he was as able as any of his time, though his ideals were high and his methods honourable, he failed to discover the evils of the Hellenic state system, much more to remedy them. Fortune was kind to him and to his worthy helper in cutting them off at the height of their renown—before they could see the failure of their policy and be made responsible for it.

Had Epaminondas lived and succeeded in his plans, there is no reason for believing that he could have benefited Hellas. The Thebans were no better qualified for ruling than the Spartans had been. Their chief fault was their narrowness. Instead of making all the Boeotians Thebans, with full privileges in the leading city, they attempted to subject them to the condition of perioeci; and some towns they even destroyed. Their more remote allies they had no thought of binding to themselves by institutions such as would hold the states together. Peloponnese, united under Lacedaemon, had been the citadel of Hellas, the centre of resistance to foreign aggression; and though Sparta was despotic, the Greek states had been learning of late to guard their liberties against her, while they still

looked to her for protection and guidance in time of danger. All this was now changed. When Sparta had fallen, Thebes, taking her place, broke up Peloponnese into warring camps, weakened the only power which was capable of defending Hellas, and spread confusion everywhere. As a result, Greece was in chaos at the time she most needed unity and leadership in order to defend herself against the rising power of Macedon.

CHAPTER XX
THE RISE OF MACEDON
TO 338 B.C.

249. Country and People.—Macedon is the basin of a single river-system. Its waters in their upper course run through plains separated by high mountains, and then flow together in three parallel streams to the sea. It is somewhat like a hand with radiating fingers reaching from the coast into the continent. The country is made up, accordingly, of two distinct regions—the Highland, including the mountains and plains of the interior; and the Lowland, nearer the sea.

Dense forests nearly covered the Highland, even as late as the fourth century B.C. The sparse population lived in hovels, dressed in skins, and fed their few sheep on the mountain sides. Their habits were warlike; the youth could not sit at table with the men till he had killed a wild boar, and he who had slain no foe had to wear a rope about his body as a sign that he was not yet free. They ate from wooden dishes; they fought with the rudest weapons; poverty and exposure were toughening them into excellent material for soldiers.

In each separate valley dwelt a tribe under the rule of a king and nobles, as it had been in the Greece of Homer's day. The Macedonians were indeed Greeks who had not yet emerged from barbarism. The Lowlanders, however, were rapidly learning the ideas and the useful arts of the Hellenic colonies along their coasts. By hard fighting the king of the Lowlands finally united all the tribes of Macedon under his sway.

250. Philip: Accession and Early Conquests.—In the time of Epaminondas the Thebans interfered in the affairs of Macedon, as explained above,¹ and carried away as hostage a young prince named Philip.

¹ § 247

Thebes was then at the height of her glory; her generals and her army were the best in the world; her schools, streets, market-place, and assembly thronged with busy life; her arsenals sounded continually with preparations for war. The royal youth came a half-barbarian, with a voracious appetite for learning everything which would be useful to his country; he returned a civilized Greek, with an ambition to be the maker of a nation.

Soon afterward the king, an elder brother, fell while fighting against the rebellious Highlanders; and Philip mounted the throne, beset on all sides with difficulties and dangers (359 B.C.).

Within the next two years he had proved his right to rule by overcoming his domestic foes, defeating his hostile neighbours, and seating himself firmly in power. It became evident at once that he intended to enlarge his kingdom by subduing the surrounding states. First he wished to annex the coast cities, that he might have free access to the sea. Some of these cities were allies of Athens, and others belonged to the Chalcidic Federation, restored after its overthrow by Lacedaemon.¹ Grossly deceiving both Athenians and Chalcidians as to his purpose, he robbed Athens of her allies on the coast and seized Amphipolis, the greatest commercial city in the neighbourhood. It must be said in his favour that he treated his new subjects with the utmost fairness, granting their cities more rights than the native Macedonians enjoyed.

251. War between Philip and Athens (357–346 B.C.).—In anger Athens broke the peace with him, but could do nothing more because she was engaged at the same time in a social war—that is, a war with some of her allies who had revolted. She showed great weakness through this period in all her dealings with other states, as many of her citizens were opposed to an active foreign policy. She failed in the social war and ended it by granting independence to the seceding states, Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium. Other allies deserted, till only Euboea and a few small islands were left, whose war contri-

butions amounted to no more than forty-five talents a year. Philip, on the other hand, acquired enormous revenues by seizing Mount Pangaeus and working its gold mines. This source yielded him a thousand talents a year. With the money he was enabled to keep up a standing army, build a fleet from the timber of the forests about Pangaeus, and bribe supporters in nearly every city of Greece. His immediate aim, however, was to make himself master of Thessaly; and the opportunity soon offered itself.

252. The Sacred War (356–346 B.C.).—About the time when Athens broke peace with him, trouble arose between Phocis and Thebes. The Phocians, like the Macedonians, were a fresh, vigorous race, whose martial strength and ardour had not yet been softened by commerce and city life. As they refused to submit to Thebes, this city persuaded the Amphyctyonic Council to declare a sacred war¹ upon them on a false charge of having wronged Apollo. To pay the expenses of the war the Phocian commanders borrowed large sums of money from the Delphic treasury—a perfectly honourable transaction, as Delphi was a Phocian city and the war was in self-defence; yet the enemies of the little state cried out hypocritically against this still more impious crime against the god. By means of this money the Phocian general brought together a great army of mercenaries, with which he overran Locris, Doris, and Boeotia, seized the pass of Thermopylae, defeated Philip twice in Thessaly, and drove him back to Macedon. This conflict between Phocis and Macedon was for the control of Thessaly. The unfortunate campaign of Philip merely spurred him to greater exertions. In the following year he reappeared with an army in Thessaly, defeated the Phocians, and drove them behind Thermopylae. Only the timely arrival of an Athenian force prevented the victorious king from passing through Thermopylae into central Greece. However, all Thessaly was now his, and immediately afterward he conquered Thrace nearly to the Hellespont.

¹ § 55

253. Philip threatens Olynthus (352–349 B.C.).—Up to this time the Chalcidians had been in alliance with Philip, whom they looked upon as a petty tribal chief. But alarmed at the wonderful growth of his power, they made peace with Athens in violation of their agreement with him. The crafty king let



DEMOSTHENES

(Vatican Museum, Rome)

three years slip quietly by, during which he won over to himself by threats and bribes a considerable party in every Chalcidic town; then, when fully prepared for war, he ordered O-lyn'thus¹ to give up his step-brother, who had taken refuge from him in that city. As Greeks considered it a religious duty to harbour exiles, Olynthus refused and sent at the same time an appeal to Athens for help.

254. Demosthenes.—Among the speakers in the Athenian assembly, when the request from Olynthus came up for consideration, was the man who was to be known through future ages as the antagonist of Philip—Demosthenes, the most eminent orator the world has known.

Demosthenes was only seven years old when his father, a wealthy manufacturer, died, whereupon the guardians took most of the estate for themselves. He was a slender, sal-low boy, who, instead of joining with comrades in the sports of the gymnasium, stayed at home with his mother, nursing his wrath against the unfaithful guardians till it became the ruling passion of his youth. To prepare himself for prosecuting them he studied legal oratory under

¹ The chief city of Chalcidice

an experienced master. It is said, too, that even in youth he resolved to become a statesman; but his voice was defective, his body weak and awkward, his habits unsocial—his whole nature unfitted for such a calling. Strength of soul, however, made up for personal disadvantages. He trained his voice and delivery under a successful actor; he studied the great masterpieces of Attic prose; he steeled his will and so exercised his mental muscles that they became capable of the highest and most prolonged tension. Severe toil, continued through many years, gave him his genius. Success in prosecuting the guardians led to speech writing as a profession, from which he gradually made his way into public life.

He was the first to foresee the danger to Hellenic freedom from Philip, and he lost no time or zeal in warning Athens to meet it while it was yet far off. In 352 B.C. he began his opposition to the king of Macedon in an oration called his *First Philippic*; and when envoys from Olynthus begged Athens for an alliance, he urged his countrymen to accept the opportunity. "Give prompt and vigorous assistance, use your surplus revenues for war rather than for festivals; be not content with sending mercenaries, but take the field yourselves against Philip, and you will certainly defeat him, for his strength is derived from your weak policy, his power is based on injustice, and all his subjects will revolt, if only you give them a little encouragement and support." Such were the sentiments of his Olynthiac Orations. He tried to inspire his countrymen with the vigour and ambition of their fathers, who had beaten down Persia and had founded an empire; yet his words had little effect, as he was still a young man and almost unknown.

The Athenians made the alliance, but sent insufficient help; so that before the end of another year Philip had taken Olynthus and the thirty other cities of the League. He destroyed them all and enslaved the entire population.

255. Character of Philip; his Army and State.—Hellas was punished for the disunion of her states, but this does not justify Philip. The cruelty and violence of all the Greek

tyrants combined scarcely equalled this one deed of the Macedonian king.

There could now be no doubt that he was dangerous. He ruled Macedon, Thessaly, Chalcidice, and the greater part of Thrace; he had his hirelings among the leading men of the Hellenic cities. He was a self-made man, an incessant toiler, who spared not his own person, but "in his struggle for power and empire had an eye cut out, his collar-bone fractured, a hand and a leg mutilated, and was willing to sacrifice any part of his body which fortune might choose to take, provided he could live with the remainder in honour and glory".¹ The body served a masterful intellect; few men have equalled him in quickness of thought and in soundness of judgment.

The greatest of his achievements was the creation of the Macedonian army. The rough Highland huntsmen and the peasants of the Plain, organized in local regiments, composed his phalanx. Learning a lesson from Athens,² he lightened their defensive armour and increased the length of their spears. Thus they could move more rapidly than the old-fashioned phalanx, and in conflict with any enemy their lances were first to draw blood. The nobles served in the cavalry as "companions" of the king; the light troops composed his guard; the sons of nobles were royal pages, associating with the king and protecting his person. Gradually military pride, the glory of success, and most of all the magnetism of a great commander, welded this mass of men into an organic whole. The military organization not only civilized the Macedonians by subjecting them to discipline, but it also destroyed their clannishness and made of them one nation with common interests, sentiments, and hopes. And Philip's country was not so exclusive as the Hellenic cities had always been; it readily admitted strangers to citizenship, and in this way showed capacity for indefinite growth in population and in area. Macedon was already far larger than any other Greek state; its army was better organized; its troops were superior; and its king possessed a genius for war and for diplomacy.

¹ Demosthenes, *De Corona*, 67

² § 236

256. Peace with Athens and the Overthrow of Phocis (346 B.C.).—Three years after the fall of Chalcidice Athens made peace with Philip. The treaty included the allies of both parties, with the exception of the Phocians, whom Philip reserved for destruction. His excuse was that they had seized the treasures of Apollo at Delphi; he really wished to gain a foothold in central Greece and at the same time to pose as a champion of the prophet god.

A few days after signing the treaty he passed through Thermopylae, and as agent of the Amphictyonic Council he destroyed the twenty-two cities of Phocis and scattered the inhabitants in villages. The council decreed that the Phocians should repay by annual instalments the ten thousand talents they had taken from Apollo's treasury. Their seat in the council was given to Philip. This position, together with the presidency of the Pythian games, assured him great honour and influence throughout Hellas. He was now not only a Greek, but the greatest of the Hellenic nation.

257. The Battle of Chaeronea (338 B.C.).—In the years of peace which followed, Philip was busily winning friends among the Greeks; it was his aim to bring Hellas under his will by creating in each city a party devoted to himself. In all his movements, however, he was met by the eloquence and the diplomacy of Demosthenes. Gradually the orator brought together an Hellenic League to drive Philip out of Greece. Several states in Peloponnese and in central Greece joined it.

As the time seemed ripe for a final attack upon Greek liberties, Philip caused his agents to kindle another sacred war in central Greece. He then marched again through Thermopylae, and occupied El-a-te'a, near the Boeotian frontier. As this movement threatened Boeotia, Thebes was induced to enter the Hellenic League. The allied forces met him at Chaerone'a in Boeotia. On each side were about thirty thousand men. Philip's generalship won the day.

In this battle a monarch, commanding all the resources of his state, proved superior to a loose alliance of republics. The outcome impressed upon men the idea that monarchy was the

strongest and best form of government. Hence it helped to determine that to the present day the civilized world should be ruled chiefly by kings and emperors.

258. The Congress at Corinth.—The Hellenic states hastened to submit to the victor, Sparta alone maintaining her independence. Philip drew up a plan for their organization under his leadership. The states were to be free and to govern themselves under their own constitutions. But no more civil strife was to be permitted within the states, or wars between one state and another. All were to send deputies to a congress at Corinth. The body was to meet whenever called by Philip to deliberate under his presidency on war, peace, and all matters of national interest. The first session was held shortly after the battle of Chaeronea. In the second session, 337 B.C., the Greeks elected Philip captain-general, and agreed to furnish land and naval forces in proportion to their several means. The object of these preparations was the conquest of Persia.

Let us for a moment compare Philip's congress with the one which met in the same place in 480 B.C.¹ The aim of the earlier session was the protection of Hellenic liberty from Persian aggression; that of Philip's congress was the conquest of the aggressor. Doubtless there was a certain historical justice in the latter object—in the attempt to balance the right and the wrong of the world; and it afforded the Greeks an outlook into a new and great future. But on the former occasion the deputies acted voluntarily, on the latter under fear of a master, whose garrisons held their strongholds. Philip wished merely to be the war-captain of a free and united Hellas; his leadership was to be in kind the same as that of Sparta or of Thebes. But the majority of the Greeks could look upon him only as a foreign master, whom they for the present were constrained through fear to obey. For all these reasons we must regard the later congress as distinctly inferior to the earlier in nobility of motive and character.

259. Significance of the Macedonian Supremacy.—At last Hellas was united. The end long dreamed of and struggled

¹ § 152

for by many patriotic Greeks was reached. The Hellenes were soon to become the leading people in a great empire and were to offer it the benefit of their superior civilization. In so far as the world accepted the offer it profited my Philip's achievement.

Now that the Hellenes were at peace among themselves and still living under free governments, we should expect them to progress more rapidly than before and to bring their civilization to a still greater height of excellence. But if we take this view of the case, we shall be disappointed. Progress was thereafter made along certain narrow lines, which will be considered in a later chapter.¹ In reality the conditions which favoured the growth of civilization had passed away from Greece forever. One condition was the fearlessness of absolute freedom, which could not exist under a master, however benevolent he might be. Another was the stimulus of party strife and of interstate warfare, which Philip for a time suppressed. It is true that various other causes were co-operating with these two in bringing about a decline of Greek genius; but the fact here to be emphasized is that the Classic Age of Greek literature and art came to an end with the lives of the men who saw the battle of Chaeronea.

260. Growth of the Idea of conquering Persia; Philip's Preparations.—Before the battle of Plataea (479 B.C.), the Hellenes could think of nothing further than self-protection from Persia. Soon afterward, however, those who organized the Delian Confederacy conceived the idea of a perpetual war of aggression upon the great empire. They had advanced so far in confidence and strength as to believe that such a war would be successful, and even profitable. The most famous exponent of this policy was Cimon. For a time Pericles held to it. He believed that he could greatly disable Persia and win an empire for Athens by aiding in the liberation of Egypt and Cyprus. But when these attempts failed, the idea was for a time dropped. Early in the fourth century it was revived by the successful march of the "Ten Thousand", which proved

¹Ch. xxiii, § 290 ff.

the weakness of the empire when matched against the Greeks. Resuming the policy of Cimon, Agesilaus hoped at least to conquer Asia Minor for the Greeks, and would doubtless have succeeded, had he not been recalled by war nearer home. Writers and orators then took up the idea and made the public acquainted with it. When, accordingly, Philip came to the leadership, he found the Hellenic mind prepared for his proposition to conquer the Persian empire.

Preparation for this enterprise went on actively till, in 336 B.C., the army was ready to move into Asia. But Philip was delayed by troubles in his own house. His wife O-lym'pi-as, the mother of his son Alexander, was an Epirot princess, a wild, fierce woman. Sent home to her kinsmen and supplanted by a younger wife, she began in jealous rage to plot against her lord. Between Philip and Alexander an angry brawl arose; then came a reconciliation celebrated with splendid feasts and games. In the midst of the rejoicing Philip was assassinated.

CHAPTER XXI

THE FOUNDING OF ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE

336-323 B.C.

261. Alexander's Early Character and Policy.—At the time of his accession (336 B.C.) Alexander was a ruddy-cheeked youth of twenty years with eyes and face full of animation and with the form of an Olympic runner. There was in him the same eagerness for knowledge as for exercise; and among his tutors was Aristotle, the most learned of all the Greeks. Alexander was passionately fond of the *Iliad*, as he found in the hero Achilles his own ideal and image. The young king was an impetuous yet manly spirit, sincere in an age of deceit, incessantly active in the midst of a generation of drones.

When he came to his inheritance, he found the great work of his father rapidly crumbling—the Macedonians disaffected, barbarous tribes threatening invasion, and Greece rebellious. The wise men of Macedon urged him to proceed cautiously in meeting the difficulties which beset him; but Alexander with a few masterful strokes reduced his subjects and his troublesome enemies to order.

262. The Invasion of Asia; Battle on the Granicus (334 B.C.).—In the spring of 334 B.C. Alexander crossed the Hellespont with forty thousand troops, and began his invasion of the



ALEXANDER
(Capitoline Museum, Rome)

Persian empire. He aspired to draw the hearts of his people to himself as the hero who would punish the Persians for desolating his country and burning its temples. The enemy first offered resistance on the Gra-ni'cus River near Troy; without hesitation Alexander crossed the stream under a storm of darts and carried the enemy's position by a bold dash. Half of the force which opposed him there consisted of Greeks who were serving the Asiatic king for pay. Soon afterward he learned, too, that the warships of Hellas would co-operate with the enemy. This fact determined him to follow the coast from Ephesus to the mouths of the Nile and to seize all the harbours on the way, that hostile fleets might find no landing-place in his rear. On the march he had to storm fortresses, garrison towns, and keep open his communications with Macedonia. As the Greek cities of Asia Minor fell one by one into his power, he gave them democratic governments, but denied them the privilege of banishing oligarchs. Hellas had never before seen a policy at once so vigorous and so humane.

263. The Battle of Issus (333 B.C.); Alexander and the Greeks.—At Is'sus in Cilicia he met Darius in command of a vast host, yet posted in a narrow valley where numbers did not count. By a skilful attack he routed the unwieldy mass and sent the royal coward into headlong flight. Alexander always exposed himself recklessly in battle, and on this occasion was wounded by a sword-thrust in the thigh. A great quantity of booty, and even the mother, wife, and children of the king, fell into his hands. These persons he treated kindly, but refused to negotiate with Darius for peace.

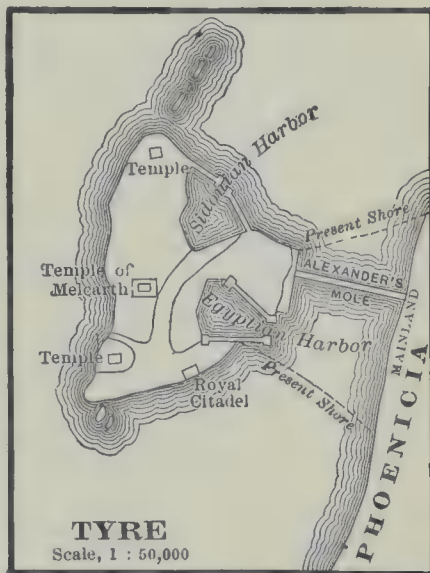
Soon after this battle he took captive some ambassadors who had come up from Greece to form with Darius a common plan of resistance to the Macedonians. Instead of punishing the envoys for what he might have regarded as treason, he found excuses for them and let them go. For a time Alexander tried to win the Greeks by similar acts of kindness; afterward he alienated them by his own unreasonableness.

264. The Siege of Tyre (332 B.C.); Founding of Alexandria.—From Issus Alexander proceeded to Tyre. The capture of

this city by siege and storm was the most brilliant of all his military exploits. Tyre stood on an island; and as he had no fleet, he could reach the city only by building a mole to connect it with the mainland. His plan was to lead his army along the mole to an attack on the city. Though harassed by the enemy's fireships and by sorties from the harbours, he at last succeeded in finishing the work. Meanwhile he had collected a fleet of Greek and Phoenician vessels, so that he was able to make the attack by sea as well as by land. Many thousand Tyrians were slain in the storming of the city, and thousands of captives were sold into slavery. The great emporium of the East was left a heap of ruins.

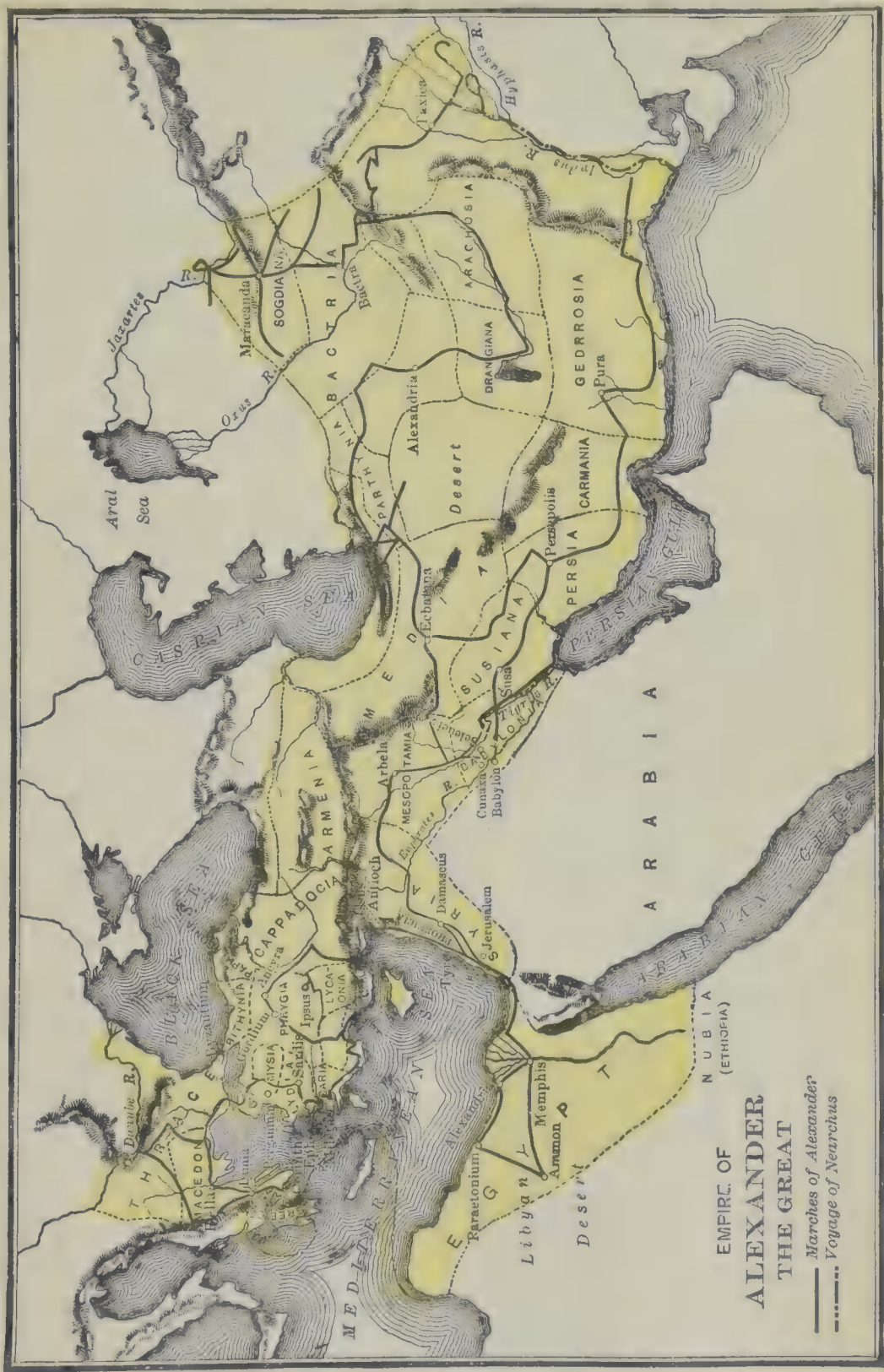
Darius could no longer look for help from the Phoenician navy or from the Greeks. He now offered still more favourable terms of peace—Alexander should have all the country west of the Euphrates and should become the son-in-law and ally of the king. Alexander replied that he would not content himself with the half, since the whole was already his, and that if he chose to marry his adversary's daughter, he would do so without asking the father's consent. Darius then began fresh preparations for war, and Alexander marched on to Egypt, which yielded without resistance. Near one of the mouths of the Nile he founded Alexandria, to take the place of Tyre and with its trade-routes to bind fast his new dominions to the throne of his fathers. It grew to be the greatest commercial city of the eastern Mediterranean.

Before departing from Egypt Alexander paid a visit to the oracle of the god Ammon in an oasis of the Libyan desert, and received assurance from the deity who sat in this vast solitude that he, the conqueror of nations, was in reality a son of Zeus.



265. The Battle of Arbela (331 B.C.).—From the Nile country Alexander led his army into the heart of the Persian empire. Some sixty miles from Ar-be'la, north of Babylon, he again met the enemy. On this occasion Darius had chosen a favourable position, a broad plain in which his enormous force found ample room for movement. The two armies halted in view of each other. While Alexander's troops slept the night through, Darius, keeping his men under arms, reviewed them by torchlight. The Macedonian general, Parmenion, beholding all the plain aglow with the lights and fires of the Asiatics, and hearing the uncertain and confused sound of voices from their camp like the distant roar of the vast ocean, was amazed at the multitude of the foe, and hastening to the tent of Alexander, besought him to make a night attack that darkness might hide them from the enemy. "I will not steal a victory!" the young king replied. He knew Darius would lose all hope of resistance only when conquered by force of arms in a straightforward battle. It was a fierce struggle which took place on the following day; but the steady advance of the phalanx and the furious charge of the Macedonian cavalry under the lead of their king won the day over the unorganized, spiritless mass of Orientals. The long struggle between two continents, which began with the earliest Persian attacks on Greece, was decided in favour of Europe by the intelligent and robust manliness of the Westerners.

266. Other Conquests (331–323 B.C.).—Darius fled northward and was murdered by an attendant on the way. Alexander, as his successor, was master of the empire. Babylon surrendered without resistance. This city he wished to make the capital of his world empire. From Babylon he pushed on to Susa, the summer residence of the Persian kings. Here an immense treasure of silver and gold—estimated at fifty thousand talents—fell into his hands. Thence he fought his difficult way, against mountaineers and imperial troops, to Persepolis, the capital of Persia proper. In this city he found a much greater treasure of the precious metals—a hundred and twenty thousand talents. For ages the Persian kings had



been hoarding this wealth, which the conqueror was now to put into circulation. One night, while he and his friends were carousing there, the idea occurred to them to burn the beautiful palace of the kings in revenge for the destruction of the Athenian temples by Xerxes. The deed was hardly done before Alexander repented his folly.

A few campaigns were still needed to pacify the great country. The victorious marches which he next made into the remote northerly provinces of Bac'tri-a and Sog-di-a'na and to distant India are interesting both as brilliant military achievements and as explorations of regions hitherto unknown to the Greeks. His return from India through the Ge-dro'si-an desert was a marvellous feat of endurance. Three fourths of the army perished on the way; but Alexander was now lord of Asia, and to such a despot human life is cheap. His admiral, Ne-ar'chus, who at the same time was voyaging from the mouth of the Indus to the Persian Gulf, opened to the Greeks the water route to India. It required five months for him to make the voyage. Though under favourable conditions it could be accomplished in less time, the distance and the hardships of the route were a hindrance to its extensive use throughout ancient times.

267. Organization of the Empire.—Immediately after his return to Babylon, Alexander began to settle the affairs of his empire, which reached from the western limit of Greece to the Hyph'a-sis River in India, and from the Jax-ar'tes River to Nubia—the greatest extent of country yet united under one government. He left the taxes and the satrapies nearly as they were, but brought the officials under better control. The satrap had been a despot after the pattern of the king whom he served, uniting in himself all military, financial, and judicial authority; but Alexander, in organizing a province, assigned each of these functions to a distinct officer, so that the work of government could be done better than before, and there was less opportunity for the abuse of power. He appointed to the offices Persians as well as Macedonians and Greeks. An important element of his organization was the colonies

which he planted in all parts of the empire. The nucleus of the colony was Greek and Macedonian—usually his worn-out veterans. With them were associated many natives. They were organized in the Greek form, and were self-governing and free from tribute. Their object was to secure the empire by means of garrisons, to promote trade and industry, and to fuse Hellenic with Asiatic civilization. The opportunity for colonization was one which the Greeks had long been wanting, and in which, therefore, they took an eager part.

While engaged in this work, Alexander busied himself with recruiting and improving his army and with building a great fleet; for he was planning the conquest of Arabia, Africa, and Western Europe.

268. His Death (323 B.C.); **his Place in History.**—When ready to set out on his expedition to the West, he suddenly fell sick of a fever, caused probably by excessive drinking. As he grew rapidly worse, the soldiers forced their way in to see their beloved commander once more, and the whole army passed in single file by his bed. He was no longer able to speak, but his eyes and uplifted hand expressed his silent farewell.

His character appears clearly even in the brief narrative given above. His genius and energy in war, in organization, and in planting colonies were marvellous. His mind expanded rapidly with the progress of his conquests. First king of Macedon, next captain-general of Hellas, then emperor of Persia, he aspired finally to be lord of the whole earth. His object was not to Hellenize the world, but to blend the continents in one nation and one civilization. But the dizzy height of power to which he had climbed disturbed his mental poise; in an outburst of passion he murdered his dearest friend; his lust for worship grew upon him, till he bade the manly Macedonians grovel before him like servile Asiatics, and sent an order to the Greeks to recognize him as a god. Year by year he grew more egotistical and more despotic and violent.

It would be idle to speculate on what he might have accomplished had he lived to old age. We must judge him by his actual achievements. His conquests stimulated exploration and discovery, introducing a great age of scientific invention. They tended to break down the barrier between Greek and barbarian, and they gave Hellenic civilization to the world. People of widely separated countries became better acquainted with one another, and thus acquired a more liberal spirit and a broader view of mankind. The building up of an empire far greater than the Persian was itself a stage in the growth of the idea that all men are brothers. It is a fact, too, that Alexander's conquests made easier the growth of the Roman empire. On the other hand, the conquest conferred no lasting benefit on the masses of the conquered. The Macedonian successors of Alexander were more oppressive plunderers than the native rulers had been; and the civilization of the Greek cities did not extend far beyond their walls. Within a few centuries the more remote cities lost their distinctive Hellenic character. Apart, then, from the country lying immediately round the east Mediterranean, which kept in close touch with Europe, the career of Alexander and the rule of his successors formed but an episode in the history of the Orient.

CHAPTER XXII

THE MATURITY OF THE GREEK MIND: FROM POETRY TO PROSE

404-322 B.C.

269. Growth of the Greek Mind.—It is occasionally helpful to compare the life of a nation with that of a man. The age considered in the present chapter was like that of an individual at maturity; the imagination had declined somewhat, and the reason was supreme. In this period men thought more keenly and deeply than at any other time in ancient history. As we pass from the fifth to the fourth century, accordingly, we find the form of literature changing from poetry to prose. The former is the language of the imagination; the latter of the reason. All the best poetry of the Greeks was produced before the beginning of the fourth century; and, with the exception of history, all their best prose after that date.¹ There are three great departments of Greek prose—history, oratory, and philosophy.

270. History: Xenophon.—The principal historian of this age whose works have survived to our time is Xenophon. He was an Athenian who got his education in the school of Socrates, and then went with Cyrus on his Asiatic expedition.² In style he is less charming than Herodotus and in thought less deep than Thucydides. His *Anabasis*, already mentioned, not only narrates a great event in an interesting way, but also tells us much of the character of the Greeks and of their military organization and tactics. His *Memoirs of Socrates* gives us the character and teachings of that philosopher from the standpoint of a plain, practical man. The *Hel-len'i-ca*, a con-

¹This is only an approximate date. The productivity of Aristophanes continued somewhat longer; and on the other hand Antiphon, an eminent Attic orator, lived somewhat earlier.

² § 233

tinuation of the history of Thucydides, covers the period from 411 B.C. to the battle of Mantinea. Although excessively favourable to Sparta, it is our only continuous story of the period treated, and hence is very valuable. He wrote on a variety of other subjects, as hunting, housekeeping, the Athenian revenues, and the Lacedaemonian constitution. His works are a storehouse of knowledge of the times in which he lived. A soldier of fortune and a practical man of the world, Xenophon shared in the humanity and in the breadth of sympathy of his age.

271. Oratory: Lysias, Isocrates, and Demosthenes.—The other great departments of prose—oratory and philosophy—reached the height of their development. Oratory flourished in all democratic states, which required the citizens to express their opinions on public affairs. There was at Athens no real lawyer class, because the laws were so simple that every one could understand them; but the oration which the private citizen committed to memory and delivered in the law court was usually composed for him by a professional speech-writer. The most eminent of this class in the early part of the fourth century B.C. was Lysias, an alien. Robbed of his fortune by the Thirty, he turned to speech writing as a profession. Many of his orations have come down to us; they serve at once as models of the purest and simplest prose, and as a direct source of information on the public and private life of the author's time.

Isocrates, "the old man eloquent", was one of the best educated and most liberal-minded men of his age. For many years he conducted a school in Athens in which young men could gain a well-rounded education and at the same time prepare themselves for life, especially for statesmanship.

While teaching, Isocrates wrote orations, which, as they were to be read rather than delivered, should properly be termed essays. His literary style lacked freshness and vigour, but was the perfection of grace. His language was melodious, his words were chosen with the finest sense of the appropriate

and arranged with the most delicate taste. He brought to perfection the period—the completely rounded thought expressed in a symmetrical sentence. Nearly all the later prose of Greece, and afterward of Rome, shows his influence.

Of Demosthenes, the world's most eminent orator, some account has already been given.¹ With the possible exception of Plato, he was the greatest master of Greek prose. His orations are "marvellous works of art", inspired by an intense love for Athens. The question as to the greatness of his statesmanship must be decided according to the point of view taken. He stood for local freedom; Philip and Alexander embodied the imperial idea. Sooner or later the empire, as constituted in ancient times, was sure to hamper the freedom of the cities and grind to dust the civilization of the world. This was the final effect of the Roman empire. In resisting the first encroachments of imperialism on local freedom, Demosthenes showed himself, therefore, a far-sighted statesman. But the whole tendency of our own time is toward the building up of immense states and empires. We are satisfied with these conditions because they bring us certain great advantages, and because under the present system we enjoy all the liberty we seem to need. We can easily understand, therefore, that many writers of the present day accuse Demosthenes of an utter lack of statesmanship, saying that he was quite wrong and that Philip and Alexander were absolutely right in the conflict of principles. But should the governments of our modern empires so change as to repress our local and personal freedom as did the ancient, thinking men would again go back to Demosthenes for inspiration and guidance in a new fight for independence.

272. Philosophy: Plato.—The greatest philosopher of the age—and one of the most eminent of the world—was Plato. After the death of his master, Socrates, he travelled to various parts of Greece and even to Egypt. On his return to Athens

¹ § 254

he began teaching in the Academy,¹ which gave its name to his school. Plato is chiefly noted for his theory of ideas. According to his view, ideas are the sole realities; they are eternal and unchangeable and exist only in heaven; the things which we see in this world are mere shadows of those heavenly forms.

While engaged in teaching Plato composed his *Dialogues*, which explain his views. The greatest *Dialogue* is the *Republic*, a discussion of the ideal state. Plato thought that there should be three classes in the state: The philosophers, who should rule; the warriors, who should guard the state, as the Spartans in Lacedaemon; and the common people, who by their labour should support the higher classes. He believed, too, that there should be no family or private property, because these institutions fostered selfishness. Though his ideal state was neither practicable nor on the whole good, one can hardly read the *Republic* without being lifted by it to a higher moral plane. The author insisted that justice should rule. The Hellenes, he taught, should live together as members of one family; they should not injure one another by devastating fields, burning houses, and enslaving captives. All his teachings were pure and ennobling: "My counsel is that we hold fast ever to the heavenly way and follow justice and virtue always, considering that the soul is immortal and able to endure every sort of good and every sort of evil. Thus we shall live dear to one another and to the gods, both while remaining here, and when, like conquerors in the games who go round to gather gifts, we receive our reward. And it shall be well with us both in this life and in the pilgrimage of a thousand years which we have been describing".

273. Aristotle.—Aristotle, the last great philosopher of the Classic Age of Hellas, studied twenty years under Plato, who used to call him "the intellect of the school". Afterward he became the teacher of Alexander; but when the king set out

¹ The Academy, a public garden in the neighbourhood of Athens, was founded by Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, and afterward adorned by Cimon. It was a pleasant place for recreation.

for Asia, the philosopher returned to Athens to found a school of his own.¹ Although nearly every page of his writing shows the influence of his master, the two men were wholly unlike. Plato was a highly imaginative poet; Aristotle was the embodiment of pure, keen, sober reason. His style is dry and clear. With a wonderful genius for system, it was his achievement to sum up and to transmit to future ages all the science and philosophy of Hellas. His works cover, accordingly, the natural sciences, physics, metaphysics, logic, ethics, politics, and the constitutional history of many states. They did not become generally known till early in the first century B.C., but from that time for more than a thousand years their author ruled, like an absolute monarch, over the thought of the civilized world. Christian theology owes much of its form to him. The subtle though narrow thinkers of the Middle Ages worked strictly along the lines he had drawn; and even to-day the soundness and thoroughness of his Logic, Ethics, and Politics cannot be surpassed. The present systematic grouping of our knowledge in the various sciences we owe chiefly to him.

274. Architecture: the Theatre and the Stadium.—The Greek play was performed in the open air. Originally the people sat on the hillside so that all could see. At the foot of the hill was the orchestra—"dancing place"—for the chorus and the actors. In the centre of the orchestra was placed an altar to Dionysus, the patron god of the drama. On the opposite side of the orchestra from the audience stood the booth (Greek *skenê* "scene") in which the chorus and actors changed dress. From these elements the theatre gradually developed. At Athens in the Age of Pericles rows of wooden seats stood on the hillside for the accommodation of the spectators. About a hundred years later marble seats were substituted. Meanwhile the actors' booth developed into a "scene" in the modern sense. Generally it represented the front of a palace. All the

¹ His school was called peripatetic, from a Greek word which signifies "to walk", either because of the covered walks in the Lyceum, where he taught, or from his habit of walking while he discussed philosophic subjects.

stone theatres of Greece belong to the fourth century B.C. or to still later time. That at Epidaurus, in Argolis, is the best preserved, and for that reason an illustration of it is given here.

The stadium was for athletic contests, especially for races. The most famous was at Olympia, where the great national



THEATRE AT EPIDAUROS

(From a photograph)

games were held. That of Athens was built about the same time as the stone theatre. It was in a valley just outside of the city. About three centuries later marble seats were put in; and recently it has been rebuilt of the same material. The present seating capacity is fifty thousand.

275. Sculpture: Praxiteles and Lysippus.—The sculpture of the fourth century lost much of the severe dignity and self-restraint it had possessed in the Periclean Age; but it gained individuality, gracefulness, and feeling. Greater pains were taken in working out the minute details. These artistic changes

are but an expression of the general change that had come over the whole life and genius of Hellas. Next to Phidias, Praxiteles, who lived in the fourth century, B.C., was the most famous sculptor of Greece. In the Capitoline Museum at Rome is a copy of his satyr, which Hawthorne has described



THE NEW STADIUM AT ATHENS

(The building in the interior was erected as a "scene" (palace front) for the presentation of the *Antigone* of Sophocles. From a photograph by Dr. A. S. Cooley)

in his *Marble Faun*: "The whole statue, unlike anything else that ever was wrought in that severe material of marble, conveys the idea of an amiable and sensual creature—easy, mirthful, apt for jollity, yet not incapable of being touched with pathos". We admire especially in it the graceful curves of the body which Praxiteles was the first to produce successfully. We find them in all his statues. Then, too, he was the first to make the tree trunk or other support of the statue an addition to its beauty. The surface of the body he worked

out with greater delicacy and naturalness than any other artist has ever been able to attain. This quality can be seen only in a genuine work of his—the Hermes, discovered some years ago at Olympia. The remarkable finish of the skin is shown



THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES
(Museum, Olympia)

by the illustration. The statue combines power with delicacy of modelling. The face is intellectual. But this Hermes does not seem like a god; he is rather the ideal Greek of the age.

Lysippus was a contemporary of Alexander and is said to

have been the only sculptor privileged to make portraits of the great conqueror. This fact marks him as a master of portrait sculpture. A prodigious worker, he made in his lifetime fifteen hundred statues, all in bronze. Down to this time Polycletus of Argos had set the style for the making of statues.¹ His figures were somewhat flat or square, still slightly influenced by the archaic block forms. Their whole appearance was heavy. Breaking loose from the old rule, Lysippus made the head smaller and the body slimmer. Thus his figures appear lighter and more lifelike. Whereas the statues of Polycletus were to be seen mainly from the front, those of Lysippus were perfectly round, equally symmetrical from every point of view. His controlling motive was to represent the body, not as it actually was, but as it appeared to the eye. In some ways, therefore, his work seems a great advance beyond that of earlier artists. He was the last great sculptor of the Classical Age of Hellas.

¹ § 187

CHAPTER XXIII

THE HELLENISTIC AGE

276. Character of the Period.—With Alexander's conquest of the Persian empire the history of Greece merges in that of the world. The interest no longer centres in the creation of the Hellenic civilization through the rivalry of political parties and of little city-states. For about two centuries after the conquest, history is concerned with the spread of Hellenic culture over a great part of the ancient world. Naturally, while non-Greeks were taking upon themselves some of this culture, they modified it more or less. At the same time there were internal changes independent of foreign influence. The civilization resulting from these two causes is termed Hellenistic, as distinguished from the better Hellenic culture of earlier time.

I. POLITICAL EVENTS

322-146 B.C.

277. The Succession; the Battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.).—When Alexander died, the authority passed to his generals, all trained in war, yet none qualified to fill the place of the master. As his son was but an infant, and as the generals began to fight among themselves for the first place, the empire naturally fell to pieces. The decisive battle among these generals was fought at Ip'sus in Phrygia (301 B.C.). This was one of the most important battles of ancient times, as it determined the history of the empire till it fell under the power of Rome.

The victors divided the empire into kingdoms for themselves: Se-leu'cus received Asia from Phrygia to India; western Asia Minor and Thrace fell to Ly-sim'a-chus; Ptolemy became king of Egypt; and Cassander, already governor of Macedon, was now recognized as sovereign. In this way four

kingdoms arose from the empire. Somewhat later Lysimachus was killed and his realm divided. While most of his Asiatic possessions were annexed to the kingdom of Seleucus, barbarous tribes, including many Gauls, seized the interior of Thrace and threatened the Greek cities along the coast.

278. The Great Powers.—Through most of the Hellenistic Age, therefore, to the Roman conquest (146 B.C.), we have to do with three great eastern powers, the Seleucid empire, Egypt, and Macedon. To complete the political map of the world in this age we should include the Carthaginian empire, often mentioned above, and Rome, now supreme in Italy. These western powers were equal in strength to those of the East. Never before had the world possessed so thorough a political organization. Finance, armies, navies, and internal improvements assumed grander proportions than had hitherto been possible outside the Persian empire. Industry and commerce flourished, and the wealth of the world increased.

The eastern rulers were absolute monarchs. They were all Macedonians, and they based their power on armies made up largely of Macedonians and Greeks. Like Alexander, they professed to be gods. Surrounding themselves with the pomp and ceremony of an Oriental court, they compelled the subjects to prostrate themselves in the royal presence. To the end they remained conquerors in a foreign land. Alexander's attempt to employ Orientals in high office had failed; for they were morally inferior to Europeans and could not be trusted. Profiting by this experience, his successors admitted them to the lowest offices only, and in limited numbers to the army. All the court society, and in general the refined and educated society, with the rare exception of individuals, was Hellenic, whereas there was much mixing of races in the working population. The advantage of Greek civilization to the natives, therefore, was exceedingly slight. It was more than counterbalanced by the curse of foreign domination. The Persian empire had meant peace for the Orient, defence against foreign enemies, protection of life and property, and tolerable burdens

of taxation and military service. The new monarchies substituted devastating wars, the increased expenses of great standing armies, and an official class of rapacious foreigners, utterly devoid of sympathy with their subjects. However desirous of justice the kings may have been, most of them lacked the strength necessary for controlling their officials.

279. The Empire of the Seleucidae.—Among the successors of Alexander, the ablest administrator was Seleucus. Following the policy of his master, he planted as many as seventy-five colonies in his realm. Among them was Se-leu'ci-a on the Tigris, said to have contained six hundred thousand inhabitants and to have rivalled Babylon in splendour. As a capital for his kingdom he founded Antioch in Syria, not far from the sea. The nucleus of these colonies, as of Alexander's, was a company of veterans retired from active service. They received houses and lands from the king on condition of performing garrison duty for him. Around this nucleus were grouped natives and colonists from Greece. Most of the commerce and industry of the empire, hence also the greater part of its wealth, fell into Greek hands. The new towns were Hellenic in language, in civilization, and in free local institutions. Most of them were in Syria, which Seleucus and his descendants, the Se-leu'ci-dae, tried to convert into a new Macedon. To a great extent they succeeded in this effort. But they lacked the means of planting colonies in the country farther east in sufficient numbers to Hellenize it or to hold it long in subjection. The eastern provinces rapidly fell away from their dominion. On their western border the Seleucid kings held some parts of Asia Minor a little longer. In 189 B.C., however, Antiochus III was defeated by the Romans at Magnesia and compelled to withdraw permanently from Asia Minor. The empire soon shrank to the petty kingdom of Syria.

280. Egypt: the Ptolemies.—On the division of Alexander's empire, Ptolemy, one of his generals, received Egypt, with parts of Syria and a few other widely scattered possessions.

His descendants, the Ptolemies, continued to rule Egypt till its incorporation in the Roman empire in 30 B.C.¹ The earlier rulers of this line were able, intelligent men. Aiming to hold merely their own, they generally sought to preserve peace. Because of the situation of their country the task of defence was relatively easy. They made no attempt, however, to Hellenize the natives, but regarded Egypt as their private estate to be worked prudently for the owners' profit. They refrained from oppressing the natives in order to keep them in good spirits and in good working condition.

The only Greek colony worthy of mention was Alexandria. It was now the centre of a commercial world which extended from India to Britain. In wealth, in the refinements of life, and in educational facilities it outshone all other cities of the time. The population was exceedingly mixed. It consisted of native Egyptians, mercenaries of various nationalities, pure Greeks and Macedonians, other foreign residents, like the Jews, who came for trade, and lastly a mongrel class formed by the intermarriage of Greeks with all sorts of people.

281. Macedon and Greece (323-322 B.C.).—When the Greeks heard that Alexander was dead, they revolted and defended Thermopylae against An-tip'a-ter, then governor of Macedon. They besieged La'mi-a—whence this struggle is known as the Lamian War. Many states, chiefly the Aetolians, supported the Hellenic cause. For a time all were hopeful; but an attack on Lamia failed, and thereafter everything went wrong. Finally the states fell apart, and Antipater made separate treaties with them. Athens was compelled to receive a Macedonian garrison in Piraeus, to exclude her poorer citizens from the franchise, and to deliver up the orators who had opposed Macedon. Among these offenders was Demosthenes. He fled at once from Athens, and soon afterward took poison, that he might not fall alive into the hands of his pursuers. Thus his mighty spirit ceased to contend against despotism. On the base of his statue his countrymen placed this epitaph: "Had



your strength equalled your will, Demosthenes, the Macedonian War-God would never have conquered Greece”.

282. The Gallic Invasion (beginning 279 B.C.).—The inroads of the Gauls into Thrace have already been mentioned.¹ A horde of these barbarians poured into Macedon, defeated a Hellenic army there, and devastated the country. Thence they crossed into Thessaly to continue their widespread ravages. A Greek army tried in vain to block their march at Thermopylae. They entered central Greece and robbed Delphi of its rich treasures. On the approach of winter, however, they retired northward, suffering great losses from hunger and cold as well as from the attacks of the Greeks.

Soon afterward a swarm of ten thousand Gallic warriors with their families crossed into Asia Minor. After plundering the country far and wide, they settled permanently in the district henceforth named after them Galatia.² For more than thirty years the states of Asia Minor paid them tribute as the price of security from their plundering. Finally Attalus, king of Pergamum, a little state in western Asia Minor, defeated them in two great battles and put an end to their domination (about 230 B.C.). The artistic memorials of these victories will be mentioned in another place.³

283. The Aetolian League.—The Greeks began to feel that in order to preserve their liberties they must unite more closely. The first to put this idea into practice were the Aetolians, the least civilized of the Greeks, yet among the foremost in political capacity. Their League, which had existed from early times, enjoyed in the present period a remarkably good form of government. Many communities outside Aetolia willingly joined it. Though others were forced to become members, yet all had equal rights and enjoyed fair representation in the government.

284. The Achaean League: Aratus.—Some Achaean cities, too, renewed an ancient League in imitation of Aetolia. From this small beginning a great federal union was afterward built

¹ § 277

² See map between pp. 336 and 337

³ § 290

up, chiefly by A-ra'tus, a noble of Sicyon. The father of Aratus had been killed by the tyrant of his city, and the lad who was one day to be the maker of a great state grew up an exile in Argos. While still a young man he expelled the tyrant from his native city and brought it into the Achaean League. "He was a true statesman, high-minded, and more intent upon the public than his private concerns; a bitter hater of tyrants, making the common good the rule and law of his friendships and enmities." He advanced so rapidly in the esteem of the Achaeans that they elected him general when he was but twenty-seven years of age. Their confidence was by no means misplaced. Under his lifelong guidance the League extended itself till it came to include all Peloponnese with the exception of Lacedaemon. Nothing was so dear to him as the union he was fostering, "for he believed that the cities, weak individually, could be preserved by nothing else but a mutual assistance under the closest bond of the common interest".¹

285. Constitution of the Achaean League: the States and the Federal Power.—The object of the union was the maintenance of peace within its borders and protection from foreign enemies. The federal power was limited strictly to this object. It alone made war, peace, and alliances, and managed all diplomatic matters. The army and navy, though furnished by the states according to their means, were solely at the command of the federal power. It coined all money, excepting small change, and enforced a uniform system of weights and measures. Aside from these necessary restrictions, the states were sovereign and self-governing. The only requirement was that they should be republics and should remain permanently in the union. They enjoyed full rights of trade and intermarriage with one another; and any state was free to admit to its citizenship the inhabitants of any other. All stood on an absolute political equality. To prevent any one of them from gaining the leadership, it was decided that the cities

¹ Plutarch, *Aratus*, 24

should serve in turns as the place for holding the federal assembly.

286. The Federal Government.—The highest federal authority was the assembly of all the citizens of the League. It elected magistrates and voted on all important matters concerning the union as a whole. The votes were not counted by heads, but by states. Each state was allowed a number of votes proportioned to its population.

The council was composed of deputies from the cities, each sending a number proportioned to its population. The total number we do not know. This council deliberated on matters to be presented to the assembly and settled less important affairs on its own responsibility. It met more frequently than the assembly.

The highest magistracy was the generalship. At first there were two generals with equal power, in later time but one. He not only commanded the army, but also acted as the chief executive. A board of ten advisers aided him and limited his authority. The same man might hold the office any number of times, though not in successive years. This restriction was to prevent him from gaining an excess of power. Among the other high officials were the admiral, the commander of cavalry, and the secretary. No treasurer was needed, as the states managed all financial matters.

287. Significance of the Federal Unions.—The Achaean constitution, described above, applies in broad outline to the Aetolian League as well. The Achaeans were more progressive in civilization, however, and more inclined to peace. The federal union, in the form used by these two peoples, was the most nearly perfect political institution created by the ancients. While providing for the security of all, it gave complete freedom to each state to develop its own genius in its individual way. In this respect it was a great advance beyond the league under a city-state leadership, which was always felt to be more or less oppressive. It was a still greater advance beyond monarchy, a form of government altogether foreign to Greek

sentiment and character. A striking merit of the federal union is that its increase in area, while affording greater security, in no way hampered the individuality of the states. The citizens of the League were satisfied with their condition, and it rarely happened that any state wished to revolt.

There were, however, certain defects in the institution. It was unfortunate that the highest magistracy had to be filled by a man who was both statesman and general; for military science had grown so complex as to demand the whole attention of the general throughout his entire life; in this respect it was in the condition which exists to-day. Usually, therefore, the magistrate was little qualified for one or another part of his duties. A still greater defect, from a military point of view, was the weakness of the federal government in relation to the states. It possessed no funds of its own or army of its own, but had to depend wholly upon the states for these resources. In time of war, accordingly, it rarely succeeded in persuading the states to do their best, and it had no efficient means of forcing them. On account of these defects, the federal unions failed to defend the freedom of the Greeks against the strongly centralized powers of Macedon and Rome.

288. Cleomenes and Aratus (235–220 B.C.).—The further growth of the League was hindered on one side by Lacedaemon, now under an able king, Cleomenes. Wishing to restore decayed Sparta to her ancient condition, Cleomenes abolished the ephorate, cancelled debts, and redistributed property, with a view to increasing the number of citizens and soldiers. Sincere in his desire to benefit his city, he was perhaps the ablest statesman of Greece after Alexander. Cleomenes applied for permission to bring his state into the League and asked to be appointed general. But Aratus refused. One of his motives was political principle. He was a thorough conservative, who believed that the wealthy should have the greater share of political power and that the rights of property should be inviolable. Cleomenes, on the other hand, was a pronounced democrat and socialist. Another motive was personal. To

admit the brilliant Spartan king into the League meant for Aratus total self-effacement. Such heroic self-sacrifice could hardly be expected of human nature; and Aratus, though he lived for the glory of the union, was selfish.

Cleomenes, who had already opened war upon the League, now assailed it so vigorously that Aratus was induced to call upon Macedon for help. A Macedonian army entered Peloponnese and thoroughly defeated Cleomenes. When the Spartan king saw all his hopes shattered, he bade farewell to his ruined country and sailed away to Egypt, where he met a violent death. Greece was now in a wretched plight; Sparta had lost her independence, and the Achaean League had, for the time being, enslaved itself to Macedon. Aratus, the mainstay of the union, was poisoned at the instigation of Philip V,¹ who had become king of Macedon in 220 B.C.

289. The Roman Conquest of Greece (completed 146 B.C.).—But Macedon could not long maintain her supremacy in Greece; for a still greater power in the West was now interesting itself in Hellenic affairs. This was Rome. Originally a little city-state like Athens or Sparta, Rome gradually won the supremacy in Italy. In the third century B.C. she entered upon her career of conquest outside Italy, and early in the second she began to interfere in the affairs of the Greek peninsula. Acting as the protector of Greek liberty, she defeated the Macedonians in three separate wars, put an end to their kingdom, and divided their country into four republics (168 B.C.). Before completing this work she had defeated the army of the Seleucid king and had forced him to evacuate Asia Minor (190 B.C.).² Meanwhile, changing her attitude toward the Greek states, she became tyrannical. Opinions in Greece differed as to the wisdom of yielding or resisting. Thus every Hellenic city divided into a Romanizing and an anti-Romanizing party. The quarrels between these factions and between one state and another led to further interference from Rome. Besides the Aetolian and Achaean Leagues there continued to

¹ §§ 375, 378, ff.

² § 279

be many isolated states. Thus the Hellenes were still dis-united. They were also more peacefully inclined than they had been in the time of their great war with Persia. Rome, on the other hand, now had more good soldiers than any other state in the world, and they were at the command of one central authority. These facts sufficiently explain the Roman conquest of Hellas.

To suppress an outbreak in Macedon and Greece, the Romans sent another army to the peninsula. No force great enough to withstand it could be brought together. The Romans made of Macedon a province—a dependent district ruled by a magistrate sent out by the imperial government. They destroyed Corinth as a punishment for her rebellion. All the states which had revolted, including the entire Achaean League, were deprived of their independence and placed under the governor of the new province of Macedonia. They may be considered, therefore, a part of that province (146 B.C.). The rest of the states, including Thessaly, Aetolia, Athens, and Sparta, remained free allies of Rome. Finally, about 27 B.C., all the peninsula south of Macedonia became a separate province under the name of Achaia.¹ Though the Greeks thus lost their independence, they remained the artistic and intellectual masters of the world.

II. HELLENISTIC CULTURE

290. Literature and Art.—In this age the Greek genius had declined. In literature and art, the two fields which display the noblest activity of the mind, it had ceased to be inventive. Losing sight of nature, both artists and writers were content to imitate existing models. At the same time they lost the classic balance and self-restraint and pursued emotional or realistic effects. The most eminent poet of the age was Theocritus, a composer of pastoral idyls. His delightful pictures of country life pleased the prosaic scholars of the time and

¹ The story of the conquest will be given in somewhat greater detail in connection with the history of Rome; §§ 378-383.

have charmed the world to the present day. The scientific writings of the period will be mentioned in another place.

Classic art had represented persons as types of character stripped of their minor individual traits. It was ideal. The realism of the new age aimed to express peculiarities and even to exaggerate them. In classic art human beings are portrayed



THE DYING GAUL
(Capitoline Museum, Rome)

as calm and free from disturbing emotions. In the fourth century, however, the sculptor began to express feeling, and in the period we are now reviewing, he put into his statues a great amount of emotion.

One of the best portrait statues of the time is that of Demosthenes, which combines realism and emotion with classic dignity. He is represented as the "mourning patriot", grieving for his country's misfortunes.¹ The struggle of Pergamum with the Gauls of Asia Minor brought forth some of the most vigorous work of the age. Among the memorials of the victory won by Attalus, king of that city,² are the "Dying Gaul" and the "Gaul and his Wife". In the latter the defeated Gaul,

¹ P 230

² | 282

after killing his wife, is thrusting the sword into his own breast. They represent the Gauls accurately and are full of life and feeling, but they lack the classic poise. The Apollo Belvedere



A GAUL AND HIS WIFE
(Museum of the Terme, Rome)

of the same period, though admired for its refined beauty, is weak in comparison with the *Hermes* of Praxiteles.¹

291. Alexandria: Science.—In every important Greek city of this period, whether in old Hellas or in the Orient, lived poets, artists, scholars, scientists, and philosophers. Under the patronage of the Ptolemies, Alexandria became the chief of these many centres of intellectual life. In the so-called Alexandrian

¹ | 275

Age (323-146 B.C.), ancient science and scholarship reached their highest point of development.

For progress in mechanics a thorough knowledge of mathematics is necessary. This want was partly supplied by Euclid's *Elements*, a treatise on geometry so precise, clear, and logical that it forms the basis of every modern work on the subject. More in-

ventive was Archimedes of Syracuse, whose field included both pure and applied mathematics. His work shows an acquaintance with certain principles of higher algebra and of calculus. He discovered, too, a means of computing specific gravity and of measuring the area of a circle and the contents of the sphere, cone, and other objects of complex or irregular form. Among his mechanical inventions were engines for hurling great missiles, with which his countrymen long defended



APOLLO BELVEDERE
(Vatican Museum, Rome)

their city against the besieging Romans; the helix for launching ships and moving other great weights; and a pumping engine. He and other mechanical engineers of his time employed water pressure (hydromechanics) and air pressure (pneumatics) for various purposes. Among the machines in use were watermills and windmills, pipe organs operated by hand or by air pressure, fire engines for throwing a jet of water by compressed air, and sprinklers for purifying

the body before entering a temple.¹ Though acquainted with the principle of the steam engine, they made no practical use of it. In fact, Greek inventors neglected the production of labour-saving devices, but applied their talent rather to the creation of mechanical toys for the entertainment of the public. This was due in part to slavery, which cheapened labour, and perhaps even more to the lack of a desire among most Greeks to accumulate large fortunes. However that may be, they were not inferior to the moderns in intellectual power and keenness; and had their country abounded in good mineral coal, they, rather than the moderns, might have been the authors of a revolution in invention and industry.

292. Science: Geography, Astronomy, and Medicine. — The campaigns of Alexander greatly enlarged the bounds of geographical knowledge and stimulated men to explore other regions then unknown. The new information thus gathered was published in geographies. Greek scientists had long believed the earth to be round; and in the age we are now reviewing Er-a-tos'the-nes, the geographer, computed its circumference at about 28,000 miles, which is remarkably near the truth. He believed, too, that the opposite side of the earth was inhabited, and that India could be reached by sailing west across the Atlantic, were it possible to make so long a voyage. Similar advances were made in astronomy. It was found that the sun is many times as large as the earth, and that the earth revolves on its axis and around the sun. This truth was rejected, however, by most scientists, in favour of the view afterward known as the Ptol-e-ma'ic system, after the astronomer Ptolemy, which represents the earth as the centre of the universe.

Meanwhile in physiology He-ro-ph'i-lus found that the brain is the seat of the mind, and that the nerves are of two kinds, for conveying the feeling and the will respectively. He discovered, too, substantially, the circulation of the blood. Many of these truths were rejected at the time or soon forgotten, to

¹ To this list might be added the siphon, the jack for hoisting weights, the dredge, the endless ropeway or chain, and the fire squirt.

be rediscovered in recent years. In the same age the practice of medicine became more scientific than before; anæsthetics were used; and surgeons acquired great skill.

293. The Zoological Park, the Library, and the Museum.—One of the kings of Egypt founded a Zoological Park, in which he and his successors gathered many varieties of animals from all the known parts of the earth. It served not only as an attraction to visitors but as an incentive to the study of nature. Scholars could now write fuller and more accurate works on zoology and botany. A greater institution was the Library, in which the kings gathered the largest collection of books in the ancient world. In this period the number of volumes, including duplicates, amounted to 500,000. A volume (roll) was not an entire work but a large division (book) of a work. For example, the *History* written by Herodotus contains nine such books.

The Museum was an association of scholars, and in this sense it implied devotion to the Muses. The king granted the society quarters in the palace, including a dining-hall, a pleasant garden with seats, and porticoes for walking, conversation, and lectures. It was a school of research under a president appointed by the king. The librarian, rather than this official, was generally the most eminent scholar in the world. All the expenses of maintaining the Park, Library, and Museum were defrayed from the royal treasury.

294. Scholarship, Hellenic and Jewish.—In the Library and the Museum scientists devoted themselves to the discovery of new truth; and scholars were equally busy with systematizing existing knowledge. They compared and criticized the manuscripts of earlier authors, with a view to preparing correct texts. They wrote commentaries on the language and style of these works, and composed histories of the various departments of literature. Others produced biographies, political histories, and works on philosophy. Naturally the work in Hellenic literature and history was all done by Greeks.

The Jews, who had their quarter in Alexandria, enjoyed equal opportunities with the Greeks for trade and for culture. Under the patronage of the Ptolemies, learned Jews translated their Bible—the *Old Testament*—into Greek. This version is called the *Sep'tu-a-gint*, because, it is said, there were seventy men engaged in the work. The fact that such a translation was necessary proves that even the Jews, with all their love for the institutions of their fathers, had exchanged their own language for that of Hellas.

295. Contributions of Hellas to Civilization.—Many of the good and beautiful things of the life we now enjoy were created by the Greeks. The fundamental thing is freedom—freedom from all kinds of despotism. Perfect freedom gives courage. The Greeks had no fear of men; they loved their gods and looked upon them as friends. It is only the brave, free mind that dares think original thoughts, that dares invent. Their greatest contribution to civilization, accordingly, was political, religious, and intellectual freedom. Liberty is worth little, however, unless it is self-controlled. The Greeks have given us an almost ideal human character—a strong, perfectly developed body, and an equally strong intellect and feeling, absolutely free and fearless, but held in control by the reason. Their language, their literature, their science, and their art are simply expressions of the classic spirit of symmetry and beauty which we find in their noblest personal characters and in their best regulated states. The greater part of Hellenic civilization, however, died out during the later Roman empire and the Middle Ages. As the modern nations in the period of their origin were ignorant of the ancient Greeks, they had to create anew and independently many of the elements of our modern civilization which had once existed in Hellas; much, too, they learned by the study of the literature and the art which survived. Thus it happens that much of the attractiveness and beauty of modern life is Hellenic.

PART III

ROME

CHAPTER XXIV

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

296. The Place of Rome in History.—We have seen that the Greeks were the first Europeans to become civilized. This fact is partly due to their nearness to the Orient. But they so improved upon everything borrowed from the East as to develop a civilization in many respects the most brilliant in the history of the world. Italy is more distant from the Orient, and for that reason was slower in emerging from barbarism. The Italians, or, as we generally say, the Romans, who came to be the rulers of the peninsula, received most of their improvements from the Greeks, as the Greeks had taken theirs from the Orient. Whatever the Romans borrowed from Greece they modified to suit their own conditions, thus creating a Roman civilization.

No other state fills so large a place in the history of the world as Rome. It was the achievement of this city to unite all the Mediterranean basin in a great empire under a single government and to make the nations of this region one in science, industry, and art, one in customs, thought, and sympathy, one in the Christian religion. This task was accomplished by able diplomacy, generalship, organization, and government. Roman genius is best shown, however, in the creation of a body of law, which for its completeness and excellence must be considered the greatest legislative work of the human race. It is true that after many centuries of development the empire declined and finally fell to pieces; but from

the fragments great modern states, as England, France, and Italy, have grown; and its civilization in a modified form has passed into modern life. In brief, history may be compared with a tree, whose roots are the Mediterranean countries of pre-Roman time, whose trunk is the Roman empire, and whose branches are the modern nations. It is clear, then, that a knowledge of Roman history is necessary to an understanding of all later time.

297. Physical Features of Italy.—Italy is mainly a peninsula, the central one of the three great peninsulas which branch off from the southern coast of Europe. It is long and narrow and extends in a south-easterly direction. The northern border is formed by the lofty Alps, eternally covered with snow. On the east is the Ad-ri-a-t'ic Sea; on the west the Tuscan or Tyr-rhé-ni-an Sea. Instead of clusters of islands, which we find in the neighbourhood of Greece, there are near Italy three single islands, Sicily near the toe of the peninsula, often mentioned above as a part of Hellas, and Sardinia and Corsica, which lie close together to the west of central Italy. All these islands are connected with the history of Rome.

Examining Italy more closely, we find it composed of two principal parts, the mainland and the peninsula. (1) The mainland is in the north and consists chiefly of the basin of the Po River, which lies between the Alps on the north and the Ap'en-nines on the south. This is by far the largest river of Italy. It flows in an easterly direction through a great alluvial plain, forming a remarkably fertile district. The mainland is usually called northern Italy. For convenience (2) the peninsula is often divided into central Italy, extending from the Apennines on the north to the neighbourhood of Naples, and southern Italy, including the rest of the peninsula. There is no natural boundary, however, between the two sections last named.

We have spoken of the Apennines as forming the boundary between northern and central Italy. This is best seen on the map, p. 274. First they extend eastward along the coast of the mainland, then they verge to the south-east till they pass

the middle of the peninsula. After that they continue throughout its length nearly parallel with the coasts. Though not so lofty as the Alps, the Apennines are very high, and the whole interior of the country is rugged.

It is a noteworthy fact that this mountain range lies nearer to the eastern than to the western coast. This circumstance makes the eastern slope shorter, the rivers smaller and less navigable, and the coast steeper and more devoid of harbours. The longer slopes on the west terminate in fertile coast plains. The rivers, too, are longer and larger, and a few of them are navigable. The principal river of the peninsula is the Tiber. It rises in the Apennines of central Italy, and its general course is south-west. There are several harbours, too, on the west coast. The principal one is the Bay of Naples. The Tiber River itself served as a harbour for small ships. In the south and south-east of the peninsula harbours are more frequent. Next to that of Naples the most excellent is the bay on which the Greek colony of Tarentum stood.¹

298. Effects of Geographical Conditions on the History of Italy.—It is necessary to examine the historical bearing of a few great facts regarding the situation and physical features of Italy; for the greatness of Rome did not depend on the city alone, but upon the whole Italian population. We notice that the Alps are passable only at certain points, and even there with difficulty; they cut Italy off from relations with the interior of the continent and compelled her to associate with the other countries of the Mediterranean. This is one of the great facts in the history of the peninsula. Another is its accessibility. Noteworthy in this connection are its length and narrowness and its nearness to the Illyrian shore beyond the Adriatic. On the south-west it connects closely with Africa. Its nearness to other countries has always exposed it to invasion—from across the Adriatic, from Sicily and Africa, or, by way of the Ionian Sea, from Greece. Even the Alps, though a hindrance to commerce, have often proved a weak barrier against enemies. From early times, accordingly, many came

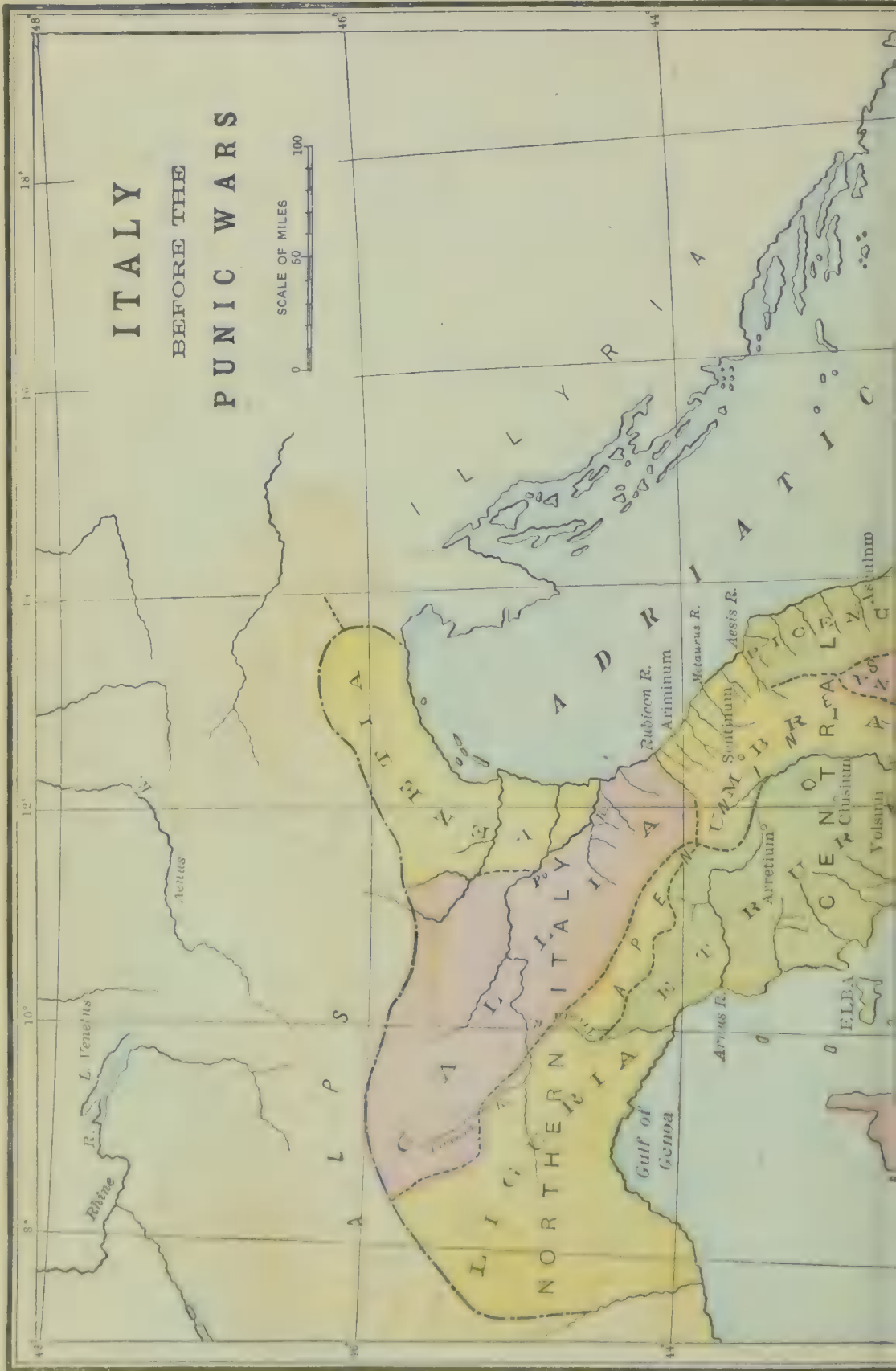
to Italy from various directions, either individually or in mass, as traders, immigrants, or conquerors. These strangers of diverse nationalities, mingling in friendship and war, stimulated one another to great activity. In fact, for centuries Italy formed the western frontier of civilization, drawing to itself the boldest and most enterprising people of the older world, and developing intensely the frontier qualities of courage, patience, hardihood, and practical intelligence. There were differences in language and customs between one part of the country and another; and there grew up a multitude of small independent states, continually warring among themselves. In time, however, as life became more settled and refined and a desire for peace developed, the people found the exposed position of their country a positive disadvantage. This circumstance led them to accept the supremacy of Rome, the strongest state in the peninsula and the ablest to give protection. Thus the accessibility of the country helps to explain its political unification—the first great work accomplished by Rome in the building up of her empire. The same geographical conditions explain another fact; even when united, the country was unsafe while neighbouring nations remained free to assail it; and thus it was that motives of self-preservation led Rome, as the head of the peninsula, into her career of foreign conquest. The political unification of the Mediterranean world was the second great stage of empire-building accomplished by Rome.

The third and most important task achieved by Rome was in civilizing the empire, especially the western half; and in this work, too, she was favoured by the form and situation of Italy. The western coast, as we have noticed, is better supplied than the eastern with harbours. It was partly for this reason that the Romans came into closer touch and sympathy with Spain, Gaul, and north-western Africa than with Greece and the Orient. In some degree they impressed their character on the whole empire; but the fresh, vital peoples of the West were far more ready than the decaying East to adopt their customs, institutions, and ideas.

ITALY

BEFORE THE
PUNIC WARS

SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100





299. Climate, Soil, and Products, and their Effects.—A more intimate acquaintance with the physical geography of the country will yield other facts which bear on its history. Its extension through many degrees of latitude gives a great diversity of climate, increased further by the Apennines. In the south is a sub-tropical climate and vegetation nearly like those of Africa; in the north, especially high up on the slopes of the mountains, we find the air and the products of central Europe. Everywhere the extremes of summer and winter are tempered by the neighbouring sea. The sunny sky, the luxuriant vegetation, the great variety and abundance of useful products—stone, copper, timber, fruit, and grains—have supported a dense population, promoted its many-sided development, and added to its comfort and happiness. Not simply the situation and form, but the climate, soil, and products as well, have influenced the history of the country.

300. The Countries of Italy.—We have seen that Italy is conveniently divided into northern, central, and southern. Northern Italy, the basin of the Po, contained three countries: Li-gu'ri-a on the west, Ve-ne'ti-a on the east, and Gallia between these two. When the Romans wished to distinguish this Gallia from the country of the same name beyond the Alps, they applied to it the adjective Cis-al-pi'na, meaning "this side the Alps". Central Italy comprised E-tru'ri-a, La'ti-um, and Cam-pa'ni-a on the Tyrrhenian coast; Um'bri-a, Pi-ce'num, and the Fren-ta'ni (a tribal name) on the Adriatic; and Sa-bi'na, the Marsian country, and Sam'ni-um in the mountainous interior. In southern Italy were A-pu'li-a, Ca-la'bri-a, and Brut'ti-um. Magna Graecia, explained above,¹ comprised the Greek colonies in the south of the peninsula. The countries of Italy here named were not states. Each was the abode of a people, who in most cases comprised several little states. One people was distinguished from another in a greater or less degree by race, dialect, and customs.

301. The Italians.—Naturally we think of all the inhabitants of Italy as Italians. Though this came to be true in the course

of centuries, it was not so at the beginning. For a long time the peninsula as a whole had no name. For that early age the term Italians is restricted to the group of peoples who in the



end were to gain control of the peninsula. The Italians, in this earlier and narrower sense of the word, spoke an Indo-European language, related to the Greek, Celtic, English, and other languages of the same group. They came over the Alps or across the upper Adriatic into Italy as early at least as 2000

B.C. Then, moving gradually through the peninsula, the swarms of warriors, with their women and children and herds, drove before them or subdued the earlier inhabitants and fought among themselves for the best lands. In this way they came to occupy most of central Italy. One horde, passing through the Sabine country, came down upon the coast plain on the left bank of the Tiber. The people formed by the mingling of these invaders with the natives are known to history as the Latins, and their country as Latium. Their language contains many words adopted from the earlier inhabitants. Another branch of the same stock settled in the country north of the Tiber, the Etruria of historical time. They did not limit themselves to Etruria, however, but occupied the breadth of the peninsula. They, too, mingled with the natives, and the race which sprang from this blending is called the Umbrians. Closely related to them—in a loose sense their colonists—were the Sa-bel'li-ans, or Oscans. Starting from the Sabine country and its neighbourhood, they extended their settlements over the mountains and the eastern slopes of central Italy. The most important Sabellian country was Samnium.

302. The Mountaineers: Umbrians and Sabellians.—After a time the country north and west of the Tiber was overrun by the Etruscans.¹ Thereafter the only Umbrians with whom we have to do were those of the interior. We must, therefore, regard both the Umbrians and the Sabellians as essentially mountaineers. These two branches of the Italic race differed little in language and customs. Both subsisted by hunting, herding cattle, and farming small patches of soil. They lived in villages and had no states like those of modern times, but each mountain valley was the abode of a tribe with its own independent government. The tribes were constantly at war with one another. Whereas the Umbrians lived a more settled and peaceful life, the Sabellians were restless and aggressive, and for that reason were for centuries a constant menace to the more civilized plain men along their western border.



THE FALL OF THE ANIO
(Tibur. From a photograph)

303. The Latins.—The country most exposed to these attacks was Latium. It extended from the Tiber to the south-east, between the mountains and the sea, as far as Tar-ra-ci'na. On account of their fertile fields near the coast, the people of this country grew more wealthy and refined than their kinsmen in the interior. They soon outgrew the old tribal life and founded city-states, like those of Greece. Most of them were built on the spurs of the ranges which reach out from the interior into the plain. Prominent among them was Alba Longa,² high up on the Alban Mount, beside a lake which fills the crater of an extinct volcano. It was head of the Latin League. Here the cities of the union held an annual festival, in which they sacrificed an ox to Jupiter, their chief deity. A short distance north-east of Alba was Prae-ne's'te, one of the best fortified and most powerful cities of early Latium. From Praeneste we may follow the mountain range north-westward to Tibur, another well fortified city in a remarkably beautiful situation. Especially attractive is the Fall of the Anio from a great height into a deep, wooded ravine. There were many other city-states of Latium, but the most important was Rome, on the left bank of the Tiber about fourteen miles from its mouth. The city was on a group of hills, whose situation may be studied on the map (p. 295). The central hill was the Pal'a-tine. This height was easily defended, as its slopes were very steep. The same is true of the Cap'i-to-line Mount, nearly west of the Palatine, separated from it by a deep valley. As we pass from the Capitoline around the Palatine, keeping the latter to our right, we come successively to the Quir'i-nal Hill, the Vim'i-nal Hill, the Es'qui-line Mount, the Cae'li-an Mount, and the Av'en-tine Mount. It is worth noticing that the Palatine, Capitoline, Caelian, and Aventine are isolated heights, whereas the other three are tongues projecting from a broad tableland which lies on the border of the city. The seven heights named above are spoken of as the "Seven Hills" of Rome.

¹ For the places in Latium, see map opp. p. 304

The Romans of the Historical Age believed that their earliest settlement was on the Palatine and that the other hills were gradually incorporated in the city.¹

304. The Etruscans.—Scholars who have recently devoted much time to the study of the Etruscans are becoming con-

vinced that their ancestors once inhabited the northern islands of the Aegean Sea and the neighbouring coast of Asia Minor. If this view is correct, it must have been partly the pressure of early Greek colonization² which forced many of them to seek new homes in Italy. They came by sea, a few at a time, beginning before 800 B.C. In their new home they mingled with the natives. The language and the superior civilization of the newcomers prevailed, but the Etruscan race of historical time was formed by the blending of these immigrants with the earlier Umbrian inhabitants of Etruria. Their country was rich in natural resources



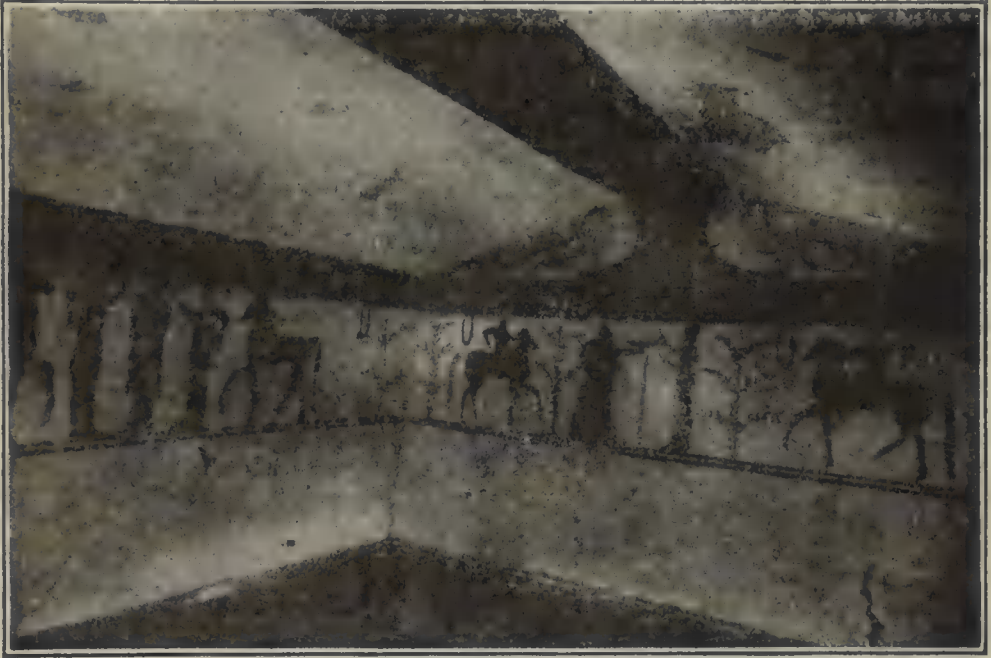
AN ETRUSCAN ARCH
(Volaterrae, Etruria. From a photograph)

—copper, marble, timber for building, and a fertile soil. The neighbouring island of Elba supplied iron. In addition to this country, they acquired by conquest and colonization the greater part of the Po Valley and of Campania. With their warships they controlled the sea which washes the west coast of Italy—named after them, Tyr-

¹ § 321

² §§ 43-45

rhenian.¹ For a time they were the most powerful and the most ambitious race in the peninsula. Though they have left abundant inscriptions, no one as yet has been able to read



AN ETRUSCAN TOMB

(Interior, showing wall-paintings; Tarquinii, Etruria)

their language. Scholars are inclined to believe that they were not Indo-Europeans. Part of their civilization they brought



AN ETRUSCAN BANQUET

(Wall-painting in a tomb, Tarquinii, Etruria)

Tyrrhenian and Etruscan are equivalent in meaning; the former is from the Greek, the latter from the Latin.

with them into Italy. Afterward they adopted from the Greek colonists the phalanx, the alphabet, various religious beliefs, and advanced ideas of architecture, sculpture, and painting. They made vases and sculptures of their own. They paved roads, dug canals for drainage and irrigation, and on lofty hills they built massive walls, strong towers, and arched gate-



AN ETRUSCAN TEMPLE

(Model, on the original scale, reconstructed from ruins at Falerii; Villa di Papa Giulio, Rome. From a photograph)

ways. The principle of the round arch they got from the Orient. Their religion centred about the system of divination which they had learned of the Babylonians.¹ By means of this religion the nobles upheld their own power in the government and kept the working class obedient. Another prominent feature of their religion was belief in a future life, which led them to spend much wealth and skill in the building and decoration of tombs. In this respect they were like the Egyptians or like the Greeks of the Mycenaean Age.² The tomb of an Etruscan noble was patterned after his dwelling; it often contained several rooms, and the walls were richly sculptured and painted with scenes from life. Much of the noble's wealth was buried with him for use and enjoyment by his soul.

Many Etruscan immigrants came to Rome and the other cities of Latium. Wherever they went, their superior wealth,

¹ The Greeks, too, adopted the same system, but developed it in a different way;

² §§ 128.

² §§ 41, 51

intelligence, and skill gave them the leadership in public affairs.¹ The Latins maintained their own language and their own national character against the influence of these clever immigrants, but received from them, or directly from Etruria through commercial intercourse, a great part of the Etruscan civilization. It is especially noteworthy that the Etruscans taught the Romans to interpret omens, to organize and equip their army, and to build sewers, walls, dwellings, temples, and cities.

305. The Greeks.—It was destined, however, that as teachers of the Italians the Etruscans should in the end be outrivalled by the more virile Greeks, who about the middle of the eighth century B.C. began to settle the shores of southern Italy and Sicily. Soon their thriving settlements nearly surrounded Sicily and lined the Italian coast from Tarentum to Cumae. As these cities have been described in the chapter on Greek Colonization,² it is unnecessary to mention them individually here. We should notice, however, that the Greeks of the West performed a most useful service in imparting a large share of their culture to Rome. Particularly the Romans received from them their alphabet, their military organization and equipment, higher and better religious ideas, the elements of all the fine and useful arts, and later the sciences and philosophy. Some of these gifts came directly, others through the Etruscans.

306. Other Peoples of Italy.—The other peoples of Italy were of minor importance. Among them were the Li-gu'ri-ans in the extreme north-west of the country. In remote prehistoric time they had inhabited a much wider area, but had been crowded back into the mountains by Etruscan and Gallic invaders. Opinion differs as to whether they were Indo-Europeans or the original inhabitants of Italy. They were a hardy race, who long maintained their freedom. In the north-east of Italy, about the head of the Adriatic Sea, lived the Ve-ne'ti-ans, who were an invading race from Illyria. The modern city of Venice retains their name. Closely related in origin and language were the I-a-pyg'i-ans, or Mes-sa'pi-ans, in and about

Cf. the story of Tarquin the Elder: § 310

² Ch. vii. § 77

the heel of the peninsula. Neither the Venetians nor the Iapygians have any special prominence in Roman history. More important were the Gauls, who about the middle of the fifth century began to cross the Alps and to overrun the Po Valley.¹ They were at the time tall, blond barbarians, brave in battle and greedy for plunder. Early in the following century a horde of these fierce warriors ravaged central Italy and sacked Rome.²

¹ Formerly it was held that the invasion began in the sixth century, but this date is now found to be too early.

² § 343

CHAPTER XXV

ROME UNDER THE KINGS

I. THE MYTHS¹

307. The Myth of Aeneas and of Romulus and Remus.—When the Greeks had taken Troy by means of the wooden horse² and were slaying the inhabitants, Ae-ne'as escaped by sea together with many followers. And though angry Juno³ threatened him with storms and beset his path with trials and dangers, his goddess mother, Venus, guided him safely through every peril and brought him after many wanderings to a haven on the west coast of Italy. There he landed and began to build a city.

Trojans and natives lived together in peace, all taking the name of Latins. A son of Aeneas founded Alba Longa. Many generations afterward A-mu'li-us wickedly expelled his brother Nu'mi-tor from the kingship of Alba, and himself usurped the throne. He had Numitor's son assassinated and compelled Rhe'a, the daughter, to become a Vestal Virgin⁴ that she might not marry and bring forth an avenger of the family's wrongs. However, she bore to Mars, god of war, twin sons of more than human size and beauty. She named them Rom'u-lus and Re'mus. Set adrift on the Tiber by order of the king, they were cast ashore near Mount Palatine, and would have perished had not a she-wolf nursed them till they were taken up and cared for by a shepherd of that region. When they had grown to manhood, they killed Amulius and restored Numitor, their grandfather, to the throne.

308. Myth of the Founding of Rome (753 B.C.?).—With the king's consent, the twin brothers led a colony to the place

¹ The Myths are merely for reading, not for study and recitation. On their historical value, see § 311.

² § 64

³ 319

⁴ § 320

where they had passed their youth. There Romulus founded a city on Mount Palatine.¹ Remus, however, in derision, leaped the half-finished wall, exclaiming, "Methinks any of your enemies might leap this as easily as I do". Then Romulus, or one of his men, replying, "But any of us might easily chastise that enemy", struck and killed Remus with a pick-axe. The new city was named Rome after the founder. Becoming its first king, Romulus gave his people laws and a constitution.



A VESTAL VIRGIN
(Museum of the Terme, Rome)

309. Myth of Numa, of Tullus Hostilius, and of Ancus Martius.—After Romulus had ended his reign and had ascended alive to heaven, Nu'ma became king. Whereas Romulus had been warlike, Numa was a man of peace, learned in human and divine law, who made it the aim of his rule to soften the iron tempers of the Romans. Refraining from war throughout his reign, he occupied his time in giving religious laws and institutions to his people.

At his death peace came to an end. Tul'lus Hos-til'i-us, the third king, conquered and destroyed Alba Longa,² annexed her territory, and removed the people to Rome, where he settled them on the Caelian Hill. An'cus Mar'ti-us, the fourth king, still further enlarged the Roman domain, founded Os'ti-a, at the mouth of the Tiber, to be a seaport to his city, and fortified Mount Ja-nic'u-lum, across the Tiber, as an outpost against the Etruscans.

310. Myth of the Tarquins and of Servius Tullius.—While Ancus Martius was king, a certain resident of Tar-quin'i-i, in Etruria, journeyed to Rome. There taking the name of Lu'ci-us

¹ § 303

² § 303

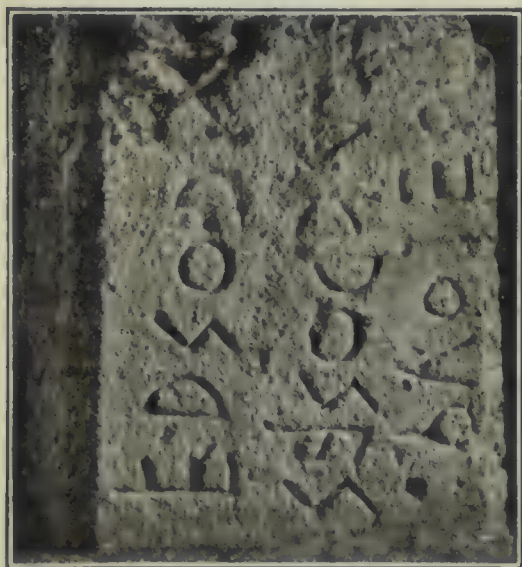
Tar-quin'i-us Pris'cus ("the Elder"), he won, by his courteous manners, the favour of all. The people, therefore, elected him king after Ancus. He gained famous victories over the Sabines and the Latins and made a beginning of the great public works which his successors carried to completion. At length he was assassinated, and Servius Tullius, the son of a slave mother, succeeded to the throne.

Servius built a great wall around Rome, reorganized the army, and made his city leader of Latium. Such were his magnificent deeds. But the plots of his wicked daughter, Tullia, embittered his old age; and at last he was openly murdered by her husband, Tarquin the Elder's son, who, succeeding to the throne, gained the hateful title of "the Proud". The younger Tarquin completed the public works his father had begun. On these buildings he compelled the citizens to labour unrewarded, till they cursed the tyrant. One day a prophetess of Apollo, the "Sib'yl", came to him from Cumae¹ with nine books of prophecies concerning the future of Rome. She wished him to buy them, but he objected to the price. After she had burned six of them, however, curiosity and religious fear led him to pay the original price for the remaining three. He placed them in charge of a college of two men of rank, who kept them in a vault beneath the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Mount and consulted them whenever the state was in especial danger or distress.

But the end of the monarchical period was drawing near. The last Tarquin broke the laws of the forefathers, slew senators, and so oppressed the people by hard labour that they were ready for rebellion. Col-la-ti'nus Tarquinius and Lu'ci-us Ju'ni-us Bru'tus, both kinsmen of the king, led a revolt of nobles and commons against the tyrant. He was banished, and Brutus persuaded the people to swear that they would nevermore suffer a king to rule at Rome.

311. Historical Value of the Myths. — The account given above is but a brief outline of the story of the seven kings as told by the writers of later time. They could have had no

real knowledge of the founding¹ and of the earliest history of the city, for no written material came down to them from that far-off time. The traditional date of founding—753 B.C.—is a fiction. Doubtless the beginnings of the city were far earlier. About 700 the Romans adopted the alphabet from the Greeks,



THE "FORUM INSCRIPTION"

(In archaic characters; an early religious law.
From a photograph)

but for two centuries they made little use of it. In the later years of the monarchical period they began to put into writing their treaties and perhaps also some of their religious laws,¹ which afterward were used by historians.

Evidently Romulus, whom the Romans worshipped, was not a man, but a deity.² The real names of all the earlier kings have in fact been forgotten, and those only were remembered who ruled toward the close of the

period. To this time belong the other six. They, or the most of them, seem to have been real persons. The account of their lives, however, is interwoven with myths; and no two scholars will agree as to what elements of the story are true and what are fictitious.

312. Other Historical Sources.—In the accounts given by ancient writers are descriptions of many customs, institutions, and buildings as they existed in historical times. The writers refer them uncritically to the monarchical period. By careful examination we can often distinguish between those things which existed so early and those which came later into being.

¹ One of these religious laws, engraved on stone, has recently been discovered in the Forum. It belongs probably to about 450 B.C.

² Compare Lycurgus; § 97

Thus we can reconstruct in broad outline the public and private life of Rome under the kings.

In this task of reconstruction we derive great assistance from archæology. A cemetery has recently been discovered in Rome which was used in the earlier monarchical period. A study of the graves and of their contents throws light on the life of the common people. Such public works, however, as the Clo-a'ca Max'-i-ma, the so-called Wall of Romulus and Wall of Servius, belong to a far later time.²



Side



Front

AN URN IN THE FORM OF A HUT¹

(Found at Bolsena, Tuscany; Olcott Collection, Columbia University. From a photograph, with Professor Olcott's permission)

II. THE PEOPLE AND THE STATE

313. Occupations and Character of the Romans.—As Rome was on a navigable river and well situated for small trade with the Etruscans and other neighbours, some of the citizens engaged in making wares and in buying and selling. Most of the Romans, however, were peasants. The farmer, clad simply in his tunic, a loose woollen garment which reached the knee, followed his bronze-shod plough drawn by a yoke of cattle. His narrow mind held only sober, practical ideas; for he saw nothing of the world beyond the mountains bordering the plain of the Tiber—mountains which inspired him with no love of the beautiful and the grand, but rather with a feeling of hatred for the enemies who were wont to sweep down from them upon his little field. His laborious life, his warfare against famine, pestilence, and neighbours who were always harassing, made him stern and harsh, and, even in his dealing with the gods, calculating and illiberal. Though love, pity, and

¹ In early Latium and Etruria it was customary to burn the dead and to deposit the ashes in urns, often shaped like the dwellings of the living. The urn here illustrated is of this character.

² § 321

benevolence found little place in his heart, he was strong in the more heroic virtues—he was dignified, brave, and energetic; he revered the gods and the forefathers, and obeyed the laws; above all, he was a man of his word.

314. The Family and the Gens.—We find the same simplicity and severity in the family. Marriage was a religious act which made the home sacred. Originally the dwelling was a hut with a single room like that shown in the illustration. In time it came to have several rooms. The dwelling was a holy place. Within lived the *Pe-na'tes*, guardian deities of the family store, and the *Lar*, who protected the house from every harm. Every person had a guardian spirit, the man a *Genius*, the woman a *Juno*. The *Genius* of the father was the chief household god. The father was priest of these gods, owner of the estate, and master of his wife and children through life. He could load his son with chains, sell him into slavery, or put him to death. Even if the son were a senator or magistrate, the father could drag him home and punish him for misconduct. Woman was always under guardianship, the maiden of her father, the matron of her husband. Nevertheless she was respected. The mother aided in the worship of the home gods and shared equally with the sons and daughters in the inheritance. In this strict, moral school young men were disciplined for public life.

As the family grew larger in the course of several generations, it often happened that the members, even if widely separated, kept up their social and religious relations with one another. Such an association of kinsmen, larger than the family, was a *gens*. In origin and general character it was like the Greek *gens*.¹

Whereas in Athens a man had but a single name—the one given him by his parents—a Roman usually had three. In the case of Publius Cornelius Scipio, for instance, Publius is the personal name given by his parents; Cornelius is the name of his *gens*; and Scipio the name of his family, a branch of the Cornelian *gens*. This is the order in which the names occur.

Sometimes a fourth name is added to define the individual more precisely, or merely as an honour, and occasionally we find even a fifth.¹

315. The Curia and the Tribe.—Several families united in a *cu'ri-a*, or brotherhood. On certain festal days the men of a brotherhood ate together in a common dining-hall containing a sacred hearth, on which they kept fire burning perpetually in honour of Juno. When war broke out, the members of a curia followed their leaders to the front and stood side by side on the field of battle. Kinship and religion inspired them to deeds of daring; "the soldier felt ashamed to forsake the comrades with whom he had lived in communion of libations, sacrifices, and holy rites". Ten curiae united in a tribe, and three tribes composed the state. The curia was the same institution as the Greek Phratry (brotherhood), and the Roman tribe was practically the same as the Greek.² In early Rome the commons of each tribe formed a regiment of foot and the nobles a troop of horse.



AN ETRUSCAN CURULE CHAIR
(Corsini Gallery, Rome)

316. The Social Classes.—The commons were called *ple-be'ians* (the "multitude")³ and the nobles *pa-tri'ci-ans*. In general character the patricians were like the Eupatrids at Athens⁴ or like the nobles of most other states. They alone were qualified to be senators, magistrates, and priests. The king could en-

¹ The first name is the praenomen, the name of the gens is the nomen (simply "name"), the third or family name is the cognomen. A fourth or fifth name is likewise termed cognomen, or in later Latin, agnomen.

² § 68

³ The word plebeians refers to them as individuals, whereas "plebs", a collective noun, denotes the entire body or class.

⁴ § 100

noble any plebeian whom he considered sufficiently marked by wealth or personal merit.

In general the plebeians were like the commons of Athens and of most other states of ancient or modern times.¹ Under



LICTORS WITH AXES

the kings and for a long time afterward their rights were limited. They could own property and could engage in business. Personally they were free and had a right to protection of life and property. They could vote in the popular assembly, but were not permitted to sit in the senate or to hold any office or priesthood. As the patricians alone were acquainted with the laws, which were unwritten, the plebeian, to secure protection for himself and his family before the courts of law, chose a noble as his patron, whom he bound himself to serve as a client. Thus many of the plebeians became clients of the patricians. The duty of the patron was to give his clients legal

advice in their business, to sue for them when injured, and to defend them when sued. The clients, on the other hand, followed their patron to war and supported him in public life, laboured in his fields or made him presents, that he might fill

¹ The theory that originally the patricians were the only citizens and that the plebs were composed of various classes of aliens originated about 1800 A.D., when modern historical science was still in its crude beginnings and before sociology had come into existence. There is no evidence whatever for the theory, and progressive scholars are discarding it.

his offices with becoming dignity. Though the original object of clientage was doubtless good, we shall see how, after the overthrow of the monarchy, it became intolerably oppressive.¹

317. The Government: the King.—The only magistrate at this time was the king. He was elected for life by the people in the way described in the following section. His authority—*im-pe'ri-um*—conferred upon him by the people, made him absolute commander in war and supreme judge with power of life and death over his subjects. In addition to these duties he was head of the state religion. All officials, civil, military, and religious, were appointed by him and were merely his helpers. Although originally but a citizen, his office gave him great dignity. Accordingly, he dressed in an embroidered purple robe and high red shoes, and with an eagle-headed sceptre in his hand sat on an ivory throne, the curule chair. In his walks he was accompanied by twelve attendants, called lictors, each bearing an axe bound in a bundle of rods. The axes signified his absolute power, extending to life and death. The curule chair and the lictors armed with axes were first used by the Etruscan kings and borrowed from them by the rulers of Rome.

318. The Assembly and the Senate.—When the king wished to consult his people on questions of public interest, his criers went about the city with ox-horns, calling them to the *co-mi'ti-um*, or place of assembly. Here the curiae met, each in a group by itself, and listened to the proposition of the king, with the reasons he might urge in its favour. Then each curia voted whether it would sustain or oppose the king's wish; and a majority of the curiae decided the matter. This assembly was called the *co-mi'ti-a cu-ri-a'ta*. The king consulted it when he wished to begin a war, to change an existing custom, or to undertake any other important business.

To be binding, such a decision of the assembly had to receive the sanction of the senate—the *pa'trum auc-tor'i-tas*. As all, without distinction of rank, had a voice in the comitia, a great majority of that body were necessarily plebeians. It

¹ § 327

was chiefly through the senate, therefore, that the nobles exercised their political influence. The king was accustomed to ask the advice of the senate on all important matters; and though he was not legally bound by this advice, he generally followed it through respect for the nobles and through a desire for their support and co-operation.

On the death of a king the senate took entire charge of the government; the senators ruled by turns, each for a period of five days, in the order determined by lot. The ruler for the time being was termed *in'ter-rex*, and the period between the death of a king and the election of his successor was an *in-ter-reg'num*. The interrex nominated a king, the assembly elected him, and the senate gave its sanction. The imperium was conferred through the election itself.

319. Religion.—The original religion of the Romans, like that of the Egyptians, Babylonians, and earliest Greeks, was a worship of the objects and powers of nature.¹ It came first under Etruscan and then under Greek influence. It was mainly the latter which introduced the belief that the gods had human form.² In their earliest religion the chief deity was Janus, the double-faced god who blessed the beginnings and ends of actions. The gates of his temple were open in war and closed in peace. During the reign of Numa they were shut, but rarely thereafter in the long history of Rome. From the Etruscans Rome introduced the great trinity, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. Supplanting Janus, Jupiter came to be the supreme guardian of the state; Juno, his wife, was the patron spirit of women; Minerva became the goddess of war, skill, and wisdom. Mars, a native Roman deity, was likewise a god of war. Vulcan was the god of fire and of the forge. Vesta was goddess of the hearth. Of the countless deities a few only are mentioned here. When the Romans became acquainted with Greece, they began to identify the gods of that country with their own. Jupiter was identified with Zeus, Juno with Hera, Minerva with Athena, and Mars with Ares.³ Venus, a garden deity, they identified with Aphrodite, goddess

¹ § 52² § 51³ § 53

of love. The attributes of the Greek deity they transferred to the corresponding native god. Several Greek deities they adopted outright. One of the first thus introduced was Apollo. This expansion of the native religion under foreign influence continued not only during the kingship but throughout Roman history.

320. Religious Officials.—Services of the chief deities were held by priests—*flamines*, plural of *flamen*—whose lives were made uncomfortable by strict rules governing every detail of their conduct.¹ Among the regulations regarding the flamen of Jupiter are the following: It is a crime for him to ride horseback; he is not permitted to take an oath; he is to have no knot about him, on his cap, girdle, or any other clothing; none but a freeman may cut his hair; the feet of the bed he sleeps in must be plastered with mud. No one knows the reason for such rules of conduct; but they afford us an idea of the strictness of the religion in the details of life and of its cramping effect upon the mind. Certain religious duties were the care of groups, or colleges, of sacred persons.

Such were the six Vestal Virgins, who attended to the worship of Vesta and kept the sacred fire of the state in her temple.

The college of *augurs* had the duty of interpreting for the king the omens sent by Jupiter through which he revealed his will regarding the state. These omens—*auspices*—were manifested in the flight of birds and in the thunder and lightning. The elements of the auspices, borrowed from Etruria, were



MINERVA

(Etruscan; Archaeological Museum, Florence)

¹ For a group of flamines, see illustration, p. 419.

developed in Rome to a complex system. As the Romans were intensely religious, they gave strict obedience to what they believed to be the divine will. It was mainly through the auspices, therefore, that the magistrate controlled the people.

The college of *pontiffs* had charge of all religious knowledge, including the calendar, which had to do primarily with

fixing the sacred days. When any difficult religious question arose, the pontiffs were called upon to decide it. This general supervision in all religious matters made the chief of the college—*pon'ti-fex max'i-mus*—one of the most important persons in the state.

So influential were these priests that the government might have fallen into their hands, as often happened in the Orient, had it not been for the fact that all the important religious offices were held by the magistrates. Thus the king



AN ETRUSCAN AUGUR

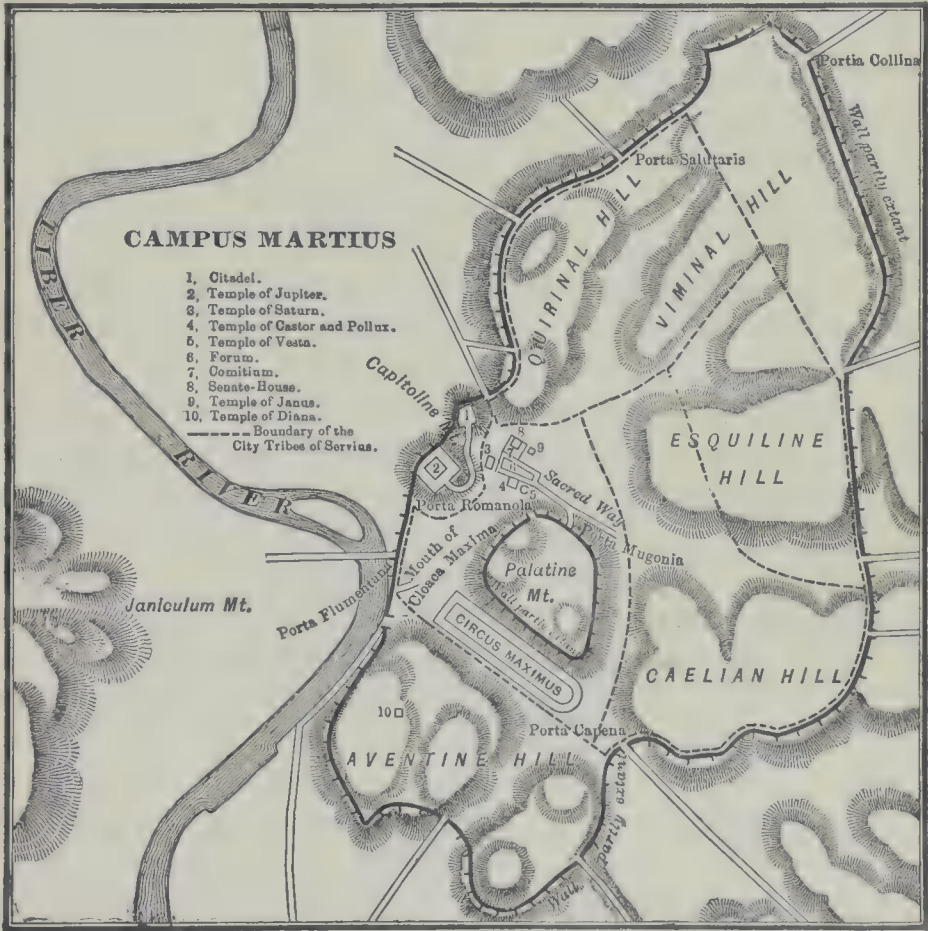
(Wall-painting from a tomb; Tarquinii, Etruria)

must generally have been pontifex maximus and probably at the same time the chief augur. The same principle holds for all Roman history; the magistrates were not slaves to religion, but used religion rather as an aid to government.

321. The Growth of Rome.—The earliest settlement at Rome, as we have noticed, was on the Palatine.¹ Gradually the population outgrew this narrow space and built their dwellings on the neighbouring hills. Then one of the kings took possession of the Capitoline Mount and established his citadel there. At first the people could not live in the valleys which separated

the hills, because they were marshy and often overflowed. The Tarquins drained these low grounds by means of sewers. The most famous of these works was the Clo-a'ca Max'i-ma ("the greatest sewer"), which drained the Forum, or market-place, and made the ground about it habitable. But the great stone

EARLY ROME



arch which now covers it was built hundreds of years after the downfall of the monarchy. The public life of the community henceforth centred in this valley. The smiths and the shopkeepers set up their stalls round the Forum. About it the king built temples; and adjoining it on the north-west they made an assembly place—the comitium—in which they built a senate house. Above the Forum, on the Capitoline, they

erected a temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva—usually known as the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter. Though in the Etruscan style, it was for centuries the most magnificent building in Rome.

Under the Tarquins Rome was a group of straggling villages situated on neighbouring hills and separated by wide tracts of vacant land. The traditional account of the period asserts that Servius surrounded the whole with a great stone wall.¹ This account may be true; but it is now well known that the so-called Servian Wall, remnants of which are still standing, was built in the fourth century B.C., more than a hundred years after the monarchical period. Equally late is the so-called Wall of Romulus on the Palatine.

322. The Servian Reforms: the Tribes and the Army.—The same traditional story represents Servius as the creator of new tribes and the reorganizer of the army. His object was to introduce the Greek military system already adopted by Etruria. As each soldier had to arm and equip himself at his own expense, Servius found it necessary to take a census of the citizens in order to know who should buy heavier and who lighter armour. For this purpose a new local division of the country was necessary, for the three old tribes had been outgrown by the increase in population and territory.

First, then, he divided the city into four districts, called tribes, and the country into sixteen tribes. Taking the census tribe by tribe, Servius divided the citizens into five classes, according to the size of their freeholds. He required the members of the first or wealthiest class to equip themselves with the heaviest and most efficient arms, those of the second class to buy somewhat less complete equipments, and so on to the lowest. The three wealthier classes were heavy-armed and stood in ranks, one behind another, while the fourth and fifth classes, as light troops, served wherever occasion demanded. The first class formed four ranks with ten centuries in each; the second and third classes formed each one rank. Of the light troops there were ten centuries in the fourth class and

fourteen in the fifth. When necessary, two more ranks could be formed of the light troops, making eight ranks in all. Thus the army contained eighty-four hundred footmen. From early times it appears to have been composed of two divisions, termed legions, of forty-two hundred foot soldiers each. This organization included mainly plebeians; the patricians continued to serve in the cavalry, of which there were six centuries, three to each legion. The army, thus organized for the field, contained the men of military age—from seventeen to forty-six years. The older men remained in the city for the defence of the walls.

323. Causes of the Greatness of Rome.—At the time of this new arrangement the territory of Rome had increased four or five fold, chiefly at the expense of the Etruscans, the Sabines, and the Latins. When Rome subdued a neighbouring city, she razed the walls and everything they inclosed, excepting the temples, and seized a third or perhaps a half of the conquered land. She compelled many of the dispossessed people to settle on her own hills, and, admitting all to the citizenship, bestowed the patriciate upon the nobles. With the growth of her territory, therefore, came a corresponding increase in her population and her military strength. After the reform of Servius, Rome could put into the field the largest, best organized, and best disciplined army in Latium.

In the character and surroundings of the Romans we discover several other causes of their future greatness. By persistent labour on their little farms the peasants acquired the patience and the strength of will which were to make them the best soldiers in the world. The unhealthfulness of the neighbouring plain, by forcing men to build their homes on the Hills, encouraged city life and intelligent enterprise. Then, too, the advantage of the situation for small trade and manufacturing made the City of the Seven Hills the chief market of the Latins. Commercial intercourse with the Etruscans and Greeks led Servius to adopt their superior military system, which in turn made Rome the political head of Latium. This event was the beginning of a great career.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE EARLY REPUBLIC: (I) THE PLEBEIANS WIN THEIR RIGHTS

509–287 B.C.

324. The Magistrates.—In 509 B.C. the monarchy gave way to the republic.¹ In place of a king reigning for life, two consuls (colleagues) with equal power were elected annually by the assembly. As each consul had a right to veto any public act of the other, the two rulers by checking each other hindered their office from growing too powerful for the good of the state. They enjoyed most of the authority of the king, together with his trappings and his attendants, as the curule chair² and the lictors. But in capital cases the consuls were compelled as judges to grant an appeal to the assembly; over the soldiers in the field, however, they exercised the same power as the king had possessed.³ The command of the army usually alternated daily. Often in dangerous wars or seditions this double rule was a disadvantage to the state. In such a case, at the request of the senate, one of the consuls nominated a dictator, who, placing the state under martial law, ruled with absolute power. He appointed a master of horse to command the cavalry. His term was limited to six months; and it was an honour to him to bring the government safely through the crisis and resign his command within the fewest possible days.

Two quæstors, appointed annually by the consuls, kept the treasury in the temple of Saturn adjoining the Forum.

¹ The dates for the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., based on the ancient authors, are only approximate. Also some of the events assigned to the fifth century are less certain than those of later times.

² Cf. § 317. The curule magistrates were those who sat in curule chairs. In the republican period the chief officers of this class were the consuls, the dictator, the censors, the prætors, and the curule ædiles. If a man elected to one of these offices was not already a noble, the position ennobled him and all his descendants; § 338.

³ § 317

The supervision of the state religion passed from the king to the chief pontiff. He appointed the Vestals and the priests, including the "sacrificial king" (*rex sa-cro'rum*). This priest-king now performed that part of the public worship which the king had attended to in person. In title the first man in the state, he was the weakest in real power, as he could hold no political office.

325. The Senate.—All important places of honour and trust—military, political, and religious—were filled by patricians, especially by senators. Now consisting of three hundred members, the senate continued to exercise all the powers it had held under the king. It even gained by the downfall of the king; for the consuls felt themselves under greater obligations to consult it and to abide by its decisions. It was composed of life members, who were taken from the leading families and were men of experience and ability. For this reason it was more influential than the consuls, who at the close of their year of office could be called to account for their administration. As the senate controlled both the magistrates and the assemblies, it was the chief power in the republic.

326. The Comitia Centuriata.—For some time the army had been organized in the way devised by Servius.¹ The principle of the military system was the division of the people into classes according to property, each class to furnish a fixed number of companies (centuries) of a hundred men each. In the early republic it occurred to the Romans to use this plan of organization also for their voting assembly in place of the curiae.² Their motive seems to have been to make every citizen's voting power correspond to the completeness of his armour—that is, to his worth as a soldier. In other words, the more property a man possessed, the greater was to be his political influence.

In the new comitia, accordingly, the citizens were grouped into centuries, each century with a single vote. There were in all a hundred and ninety-three centuries. As in the army, they were divided into knights and infantry; and the infantry

¹ § 322

² § 318

were subdivided into five classes, according to the amount of their property. The centuries of which this assembly was composed did not necessarily contain a hundred men each, but varied in size. A century of juniors was larger than one composed of seniors, while that of the landless was by far the largest of all. Meeting in the *Cam'pus Mar'ti-us* outside the city, the assembly of centuries elected the magistrates, heard appeals in capital cases, and voted on proposals for laws and for wars. To be valid, an act of this assembly had to receive the sanction of the senate.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMITIA CENTURIATA

	JUNIORS (17-46 years)	SENIORS (above 46 years)
I. Class	40 centuries	40 centuries
II. Class	10 "	10 "
III. Class	10 "	10 "
IV. Class	10 "	10 "
V. Class	14 "	14 "
	<hr/> 84 centuries	<hr/> 84 centuries
		168 centuries
Cavalry		18 "
Substitutes for the killed and wounded		2 "
Musicians and workmen		4 "
Landless		1 "
		<hr/>
Total		193 centuries

The knights (cavalry) voted first, then the first or wealthiest class, then the other classes in their order till a majority was reached. The knights and the first class formed a majority. If they agreed they decided the question, so that the voting proceeded no farther. It rarely happened that all the centuries were called upon to give their votes. These considerations make it clear that in the *comitia centuriata* the more property a man had, the more effective became his right to vote.

The *comitia curiata* continued to meet to sanction the imperium of magistrates after their election¹ and to attend to

¹ §§ 317 f. When the election of the chief magistrate passed from the curiate to the centuriate assembly, the former retained the privilege merely of sanctioning the election.

other such formalities. It had no longer a real authority. Whatever its organization, a Roman assembly had little power as compared with the magistrates or with the senate.

327. The First Secession of the Plebs (494-493 B.C.).—In most respects the common people lost by the overthrow of monarchy. The later kings had shielded them from the oppression of the nobles. But now that the poor no longer had a champion, the patricians began to reduce their clients to the condition of slaves. They exacted illegal rents. And if the tenant failed to pay his rent at the time agreed upon, the amount due was looked upon as a debt bearing heavy interest. The creditor had a right to seize the delinquent debtor, to hold him as a slave till he had worked off the debt, or to sell him into actual servitude to foreigners. A harsh creditor sometimes threw his debtors into his private prison and scourged them, in the hope of influencing their kinsmen to redeem them. The people revolted against such injustice; the whole army, deserting the commanders, marched off in good order to a hill afterward known as the Sacred Mount, and threatened to found a new city there, which should be free from patrician control. The senate, helpless without the support of the plebeian army, sent them an ambassador.

328. Institution of the Plebeian Tribunes and Aediles (493 B.C.).—By an agreement drawn up on the Sacred Mount (493 B.C.), the plebeians were to have two annual officers of their own, called tribunes, whose persons were to be sacred, and who were to protect all citizens who felt themselves mistreated or oppressed. Any person, even a consul, who injured a tribune or hindered him in the exercise of his duties, might be slain by any one as a man accursed. The law forbade the tribune to be absent from the city over night, and compelled him to leave his door open always, that the injured and oppressed might find refuge with him at any hour.

The plebeians had two other officers, named aediles, who assisted the tribunes. Meeting by curiae under the presidency of the tribunes, they elected their officers and passed resolutions which were binding only on themselves. Thus organized,

they maintained the liberties they had and gradually gained more rights.

329. Spurius Cassius.—The plebeians soon found an earnest helper in one of the patricians, Spurius Cassius,¹ the most eminent statesman of his time. While he was consul, in 486 B.C., he proposed an agrarian law, the contents of which we do not know. He may have wished to take some of the public land from the rich, who were holding it, and to distribute it among the poor. The nobles would not permit his measure to become law. They asserted that he had offered it merely to win popularity—that his real object was to make himself king. When, therefore, his term of office expired, the quaestors prosecuted him for treason, and he was condemned to death.

The fate of Cassius shows how helpless the plebeians still were, and how strong were their oppressors.

330. Establishment of the Comitia Tributa (471 B.C.).—Though the nobles could not control the plebeian assembly through the auspices, they with their clients attended the meetings to impede the business. Among these dependents were many who owned no land. To destroy the influence of the latter class, Pub-lil'i-us Vo'le-ro, a tribune in 471 B.C., induced the senate and the assembly of centuries to pass a law which provided that the plebeian comitia should vote by tribes, each of the twenty-one tribes to cast a single vote. As only land-owners were enrolled in the tribes, the landless were excluded from the assembly. The newly organized gathering, called the *comitia tri-bu'ta*, had as yet no authority over the state, but met simply for the transaction of plebeian business. In the same year the number of tribunes was doubled, and somewhat later was increased to ten.

331. The Struggle for Written Laws (462–452 B.C.).—Up to this time the laws were unwritten. The patricians, who were alone acquainted with them, handed them down orally from father to son. This exclusive knowledge they used for the oppression of the commons; the patrician judge decided cases

in favour of men of his own rank, and no plebeian could quote the law as proof of the injustice. The tribunes began, therefore, to urge the codification of the laws in the interest of the common people. Their aims were heartily favoured by one of the patricians, Appius Claudius, a man of rare intelligence and ability. Under the influence of Appius and the tribunes, the senate yielded and sent a committee to some of the Greek states of Italy to examine their codes of law. On their return the centuries elected ten men (*de-cem'vi-ri*), with the power of consuls, for the purpose of writing the laws. During their term of one year they were to have absolute control of the government; all other offices, including the tribunate of the plebs, were to be suspended.

332. The Decemvirs; the Twelve Tables (451-449 B.C.).—Though plebeians were eligible to the new board of ten, the assembly filled it with patricians. Before the year ended they had engraved ten tables of the law, which, after ratification by the senate and people, they set up in the Forum, where all could read them.

As they had not finished writing the laws, and as their government gave satisfaction to all alike, it was decided to elect decemvirs for the following year. On the new board were Claudius and three—possibly five—plebeians. Their liberal policy, and especially their efforts to promote manufacturing and commerce, angered the peasants and most of the patricians. As the senate and assembly refused, accordingly, to consider the two tables engraved in the second year, Claudius, with his colleagues, determined to remain in office till they secured the ratification; for the constitution compelled no magistrate to retire against his will. Hereupon their enemies accused them of acting like tyrants and of attempting to maintain themselves in power for life. The plebeians seceded again to the Sacred Mount, and thus compelled the senate to depose the decemvirs contrary to law. Claudius and one of his colleagues were thrown into prison, where they were probably murdered; the other members of the board fled into exile. Then Va-le'ri-us and Ho-ra'ti-us, consuls in 449 B.C., secured the ratification of the two tables.

333. Contents of the Twelve Tables.—Intermarriage between patricians and plebeians was prohibited by one of these laws, as it had already been by custom. With this exception, the Twelve Tables equalized the private rights of all and continued to be the fountain of justice for centuries. As a part of their education thereafter Roman boys had to commit them to memory—a text-book more useful than entertaining. The following are a few of the more interesting laws:

Let none make use of gold in funerals. But if the teeth of the deceased are fastened with gold, let none be prosecuted for burying or burning the deceased with that gold.

Let not women scratch their faces or tear their cheeks or raise lamentations on account of a funeral.

Let the father have power over the life and death of his son.

Let no man take more interest for money than one per cent. a month. If he shall do otherwise, let him be fined four times that sum.

If any one breaks the limb of another and makes no reparation, let retaliation take place.

If any one shall publish slander or write verses to the defamation of another, let the offence be capital.

If any shall assemble in the city privately at night, let the offence be capital.

334. The Laws of Valerius and Horatius (449 B.C.).—Before this time the resolutions of the *comitia tributa*, the assembly of tribes, were binding on the plebs only.¹ But Valerius and Horatius, who were friendly to the lower class, had a law passed which gave their assembly legislative power. With the previous consent of the senate, the resolutions of the *comitia tributa* were henceforth to have the force of law for the whole people.

It was a great gain for the tribunes, who alone had presided over this assembly. Soon, however, state officers began to call it for the election of such minor officials as the quaestors,² and occasionally for other business.

¹ § 330

² The quaestors were at first appointed by the consuls (§ 324), but soon after the decemvirate they came to be elected by the tribes.



Some time afterward it was agreed that the tribunes should place their bench at the door of the senate-house, through which they could listen to the proceedings within. If, then, the senate passed an act to which they had no objection, they signed it, thus abandoning their right to oppose the enforcement of the act. But if the measure under consideration displeased them, their "Veto", shouted through the door, ordinarily caused the proposal to be dropped. If the senate or magistrate ignored the prohibition, the tribunes resorted to obstructing the administration of the government in every possible way—even by sedition and secession. After more than a century and a half of this kind of warfare (449–287 B.C.), the tribunes succeeded in establishing for themselves an unrestricted right to veto all acts of the magistrates, the senate, and the assemblies.

335. The Canuleian Law (445 B.C.); the Consular Tribunes (444–367 B.C.).—A few years after the consulship of Valerius and Horatius, a law of the tribune Can-u-lei'us permitted marriage between the two social classes. Those wealthy and influential plebeians who alone were in a position to profit by this reform looked upon intermarriage with the patricians as a stepping-stone to office. They reasoned rightly; for, immediately after the passage of the Canuleian law, the patricians formed a plan of admitting them to office, though not to the consulship. It was agreed that whenever the senate so determined, military tribunes¹ with consular power—or, more briefly, consular tribunes—should be elected for the year in place of consuls, and that both classes should be alike eligible to the office. The plebeian candidates, however, were so often defeated that at length the leading men of the party came to regard the consular tribunate as a disadvantage to their cause.

336. Institution of the Censors (443 B.C.) and of the Military Quaestors (421 B.C.).—All the powers of the consuls did not pass to their substitutes, the consular tribunes; for in 443 B.C.

¹ Before this time they were purely military officers appointed by the consuls. Six military tribunes commanded each legion. The change mentioned in the text consisted in the occasional election of from three to six additional "military tribunes with consular power" to take the place of the consuls for the year.

the Romans created two new patrician magistrates, the censors, whose chief duty was to make a register of the citizens and their property and to assign each man to his tribe and class—a work hitherto performed by the consuls. They also let out the privilege of collecting the taxes to the highest bidders, and attended to the erection of public buildings. They were elected at intervals, usually of five years, and were required to complete the census within eighteen months after their entrance into office.

For a long time the censors remained strictly patrician magistrates. In another direction, however, the plebeian leaders began to meet with greater success in their struggle for office. In 421 B.C. two military quaestors were instituted to attend to the financial business of the army. At the same time it was agreed that plebeians also should be eligible to the office of quaestor, whether civil or military.

337. The Licinian Law (367 B.C.).—But the leaders of the commons desired especially to have the office of consul thrown open to them. Many plebeians, too, felt oppressed by debts and were discontented with the way in which the authorities disposed of the public land.

When they acquired land in war, they either granted a part forthwith to settlers, or leased, or sold it. To these ways of disposing of the land the poor did not object; but the larger part was left unsurveyed, and the authorities proclaimed that all who wished might “occupy” it on condition of handing over to the government a tenth of the grain and a fifth of the fruit produced each year. From those who kept flocks on these lands, a share of the animals, both oxen and sheep, was required. In spite of the liberal form of the proclamation, however, it is clear that the patricians and wealthy plebeians alone exercised the privilege of “occupying” or “possessing” portions of the unsurveyed land. They bought, sold, and bequeathed it, till in time they came to look upon it as their own. Not satisfied with this advantage, a rich proprietor often ejected his poor neighbours from their small farms, which he then annexed to his estate. There is no wonder that the poor were

dissatisfied with the unjust working of this system. The tribune Li-cin'i-us with his colleagues, accordingly, proposed a reform bill, which he urged all discontented plebeians to support. After a long struggle the bill became a law in 367 B.C. Its provisions were as follows:

There shall be no more consular tribunes, and one of the two consuls shall henceforth be a plebeian.

Interest already paid on debts shall be deducted from the principal, and the balance of the debt shall be paid in three equal annual instalments.

No one shall occupy more than five hundred acres (*ju'ge-ra*)¹ of the public land. Probably provision was made for distributing the surplus among the poor in seven-acre lots.

No one shall pasture more than a hundred cattle or five hundred sheep on the public land.

338. The Effects of the Licinian Law.—The second clause of the law was but a superficial remedy for the distress of the poor; it did nothing to remove the cause of poverty.

The patricians were still eager to retain in their own hands as much authority as possible. The senate, accordingly, would not permit the first clause to go into effect till the people had consented to the institution of three new patrician magistrates: the praetor, who was judge in civil cases, and two curule aediles, who were to supervise the streets and public buildings, the markets, and the public games. After gaining admission to the consulship, the leaders of the plebs had less difficulty in winning their way to other places of honour and power in the state. At the end of the century we find them eligible to all offices and to the college of pontiffs and of augurs. The opening of the consulship to plebeians gradually enlarged the nobility. Henceforth it consisted not only of patricians but also of all plebeians who were admitted to a curule office²—themselves called “new men”—together with their descendants. In other words, the patricians and the plebeians ceased to be the political parties; thereafter the parties were the nobles, who were office-holders and their

¹ The Roman acre (*jugerum*) was about two thirds the size of ours. ² § 324, n. 2.

descendants, and the commons, who were the other citizens.

Understanding that the fewer they were the more honour would be theirs to enjoy, the nobles strenuously opposed the admission of new members. They preferred to have one of their number hold the consulship four or five times, and other high offices in addition, rather than to receive new men into their privileged society. But when a law¹ was passed that no one should hold the same office within a period of ten years, or more than one office at a time, a greater number of new men were necessarily elected, and, in consequence, the nobility became more representative of the people as a whole.

339. Liberation of the Assemblies.—While the leaders of the plebs were winning political rights, the people in their assemblies were striving for legal freedom from the control of the senate. It has been stated above² that no act either of the centuriate or of the tribal assembly was valid unless authorized by the senate. In the latter half of the fourth century B.C., however, the centuriate assembly succeeded in shaking off this control. From that time it was constitutionally free to pass whatever laws it saw fit. Even more important was the emancipation of the tribal assembly. In 287 B.C., a law of the dictator Hor-ten'si-us declared that without the consent of the senate a resolution of the plebs in their tribal assembly should have the force of law.

Constitutionally the assemblies were now free from the senate and were the sovereign power in the state. In form the government was therefore a democracy; but in fact it remained aristocratic, for the senate exercised more actual power than ever. As it was composed of the ablest and most experienced men in the state, its moral influence was irresistible. Through the college of augurs it controlled the auspices, which both magistrates and people religiously obeyed.³

¹ The Genucian Law, 342 B.C.

² §§ 326, 334

³ § 320

CHAPTER XXVII

THE EARLY REPUBLIC: (II) ROME BECOMES SUPREME IN ITALY

509–264 B.C.

I. SOUTH ETRURIA AND LATIUM BECOME ROMAN

340. Weakness of Rome; Alliance with the Latins.—While the Romans were improving the government and the condition of the plebeians in the way described above, they were gradually extending their power over Italy. In tracing this territorial expansion we must begin with the founding of the republic and continue through the period covered by the preceding chapter.

The downfall of monarchy weakened Rome; for the state no longer had a single strong ruler to lead in war and to put down civil strife. The dissensions between the patricians and the plebeians¹ exposed the country to attacks from all its neighbours. The greatest danger came from the Latins, whose cities had long been united in a league.² Under the later kings they had acknowledged the headship of Rome, but now they revolted. After a brief war Spurius Cassius,³ the leading Roman statesman of the time, negotiated with the Latin League a perpetual peace (493 B.C.).⁴

341. Wars with the Aequians and the Volscians (486–405 B.C.).—It was well that the Romans and the Latins renewed their alliance; for they had soon to begin a long, hard struggle in defence of their property and their lives against the hungry tribes of the hills. Year after year the Sabines, descending from their mountain homes, pillaged the Roman territory. Often, too, the Aequians burned farmhouses and drove off the peasants' cattle. The story is told that once they entrapped

¹ See especially § 327 for the secession of the plebs.

² § 303.

⁴ This is the year in which Rome for the first time had tribunes of the plebs; ■ 328.

a consu. and his army in a valley. Thereupon the other consul, at the request of the senate, nominated Cin-cin-nā'tus dictator.¹ Messengers then bore the commission across the Tiber to his four-acre farm. Finding him in his tunic, engaged in some rural work, they greeted him as he leaned on his spade. Then, wiping the sweat and dust from his brow, he listened to the message. He took command. Without delay he relieved the besieged army, humbled the enemy, and returned to Rome, his troops laden with booty. So brilliant was the victory that the senate granted him a triumph. A grand procession, accordingly, moved along the Sacred Way² through the Forum, then up the Capitoline to the temple of Jupiter. In front were the captive leaders of the Aequians; men followed with the standards of the enemy; then came the triumphal car in which sat the general clad in splendid robes. Behind the car the soldiers marched carrying the booty and singing the hymn of triumph, while the citizens spread tables before their houses for the entertainment of the army. The procession halted before the temple, that the general might bring the chief of the gods an offering of gratitude for the victory. Then, resigning his command the sixteenth day after taking it, he returned to his farm. Though not genuine history, the story of Cincinnatus gives a true picture of the simple life of those early times and of the triumph of a victorious general. After Cincinnatus, the Romans had still many years of unsuccessful war with the Aequians.

Meantime the Volscians, who lived in the mountains south-east of the Hernicans, descending into Latium, overran the country to within a few miles of Rome. At one time the mountaineers held nearly all Latium. But after a long struggle for existence, Rome and her allies began to make headway against their enemies. Before the end of the century they had recovered Latium (405 B.C.). Though the Aequians and the Volscians still gave trouble, they ceased to be dangerous.

342. The Siege of Veii (405-396 B.C.).—Toward the end of the century the Romans began war upon Ve'i'i, an Etruscan

¹ § 321

² A street in the city, indicated on the map, p. 416.

city as large as their own, situated twelve miles distant on a steep and strongly fortified height. After a long siege the dictator Ca-mil'lus took it. This conquest doubled the Roman territory, which soon afterward extended on the north to the Ci-min'i-an Hill.

343. The Sack of Rome by the Gauls (390 B.C.).—In Etruria Rome first came into collision with the Gauls—tall warriors



REMNANT OF THE SO-CALLED SERVIAN WALL

(From a photograph)

with fair hair and flashing eyes. Wherever they marched "their harsh music and discordant clamours filled all places with a horrible din". Shortly before this time they had begun to cross the Alps and to drive the Etruscans from the Po Valley.¹ Now they were invading Etruria. About eleven miles from Rome, on the Al'li-a, a tributary of the Tiber, they met the entire force of the Romans. The barbarians fought in dense masses; their enormous swords cut through the helmets and gashed the heads of the Romans. The men, who had often faced the hill tribes in battle, fled in terror from these gigantic

¹ § 360

northerners. Some took refuge in deserted Veii; others bore news of the disaster to Rome. The city was in a panic; no one thought of defending the walls. The soldiers and the younger senators hurried to the citadel to strengthen its defences. The rest of the city was sacked and burned.

At length, weary with continual watching and threatened with famine, the Romans on the Capitoline offered the Gauls a thousand pounds of gold if they would withdraw. It is said that the barbarian chief threw his sword into the scale, exclaiming, "Woe to the vanquished!" and that while the parties were disputing over this increased demand, Camillus, again dictator, appeared on the scene with an army and drove the Gauls away without their gold.

The people returned to the city and proceeded to clear away the rubbish. Each man built his hut wherever he found a convenient place. Within a year Rome, with her narrow, crooked streets, arose from the ashes. To guard against future attacks they surrounded the city with a great stone wall, remnants of which are still standing.¹

344. The First Samnite War (343-341 B.C.).—The half century following the rebuilding of the city was a time of great military success for Rome. On every side she was victorious over her enemies, and either won new territory or secured more thorough control of the lands she had already acquired. In this period she came into contact with Samnium, the most powerful nation in the interior of the peninsula. For a time the two states were allies, but afterward quarrelled over the possession of Cap'ua, a wealthy city of Campania. As the Samnites threatened to conquer Capua, this city gave itself up to Rome in return for protection. By accepting these terms the Romans brought upon themselves their first war with Samnium.

The two nations, however evenly matched, differed in character. The Samnites were mountaineers, who had no cities, no wealth, no king or aristocracy. Poor but brave and free,

¹ Writers who lived long after these events assigned this wall to Servius Tullius; §§ 310, 321. Scholars now agree, however, that the work is no earlier than the fourth century B.C.

they looked greedily down upon the well cultivated plains on their western border. With their skilful swords they hoped to win a title to these rich lands.

The Romans and Latins were far superior in military organization and equipment. Their army was a peasant militia, obedient to command, brave, patient, hardy, ready for long marches and severe toils, rarely over-elated by success or cast down by misfortune. They were inspired, too, with the idea that the struggle was one for home and country, in defence of the wealth and civilization of the plain against encroaching barbarism. They fought, therefore, with great spirit and success. As a result of the war, the Romans not only retained Capua but also gained control of nearly all Campania.

345. The Great Latin War (340–338 B.C.).—In 341 B.C. Rome and Samnium suddenly made peace and alliance; but the Latins and other allies of Rome continued the war. Finally the Latins, thinking that they were as strong as the metropolis, demanded that they be made citizens of Rome and that one consul and half the senators should be chosen from their number. The demand was rejected with scorn; “a foreign consul and foreign senators sitting in the temple of Jupiter would be an insult to the supreme god of the state, as though he were taken captive by the enemy!”¹ War followed. The Romans and the Latins had the same arms, the same military organization and discipline. Rome, however, enjoyed the advantage that comes to a single city in opposing a loose confederacy. She brought the war to a successful close in one or two fierce battles and a series of sieges. She then dissolved the Latin League.²

346. Admission of South Etruria, Latium, and Campania into the Roman State.—The territory now under the control of Rome extended from the Ciminian Hill in Etruria to Mount Vesuvius in Campania. It remains to consider how she organized the territory recently acquired in war, and how she treated its inhabitants.

Rome enslaved the people of Veii.³ The territory belonging

¹ Livy, viii. 4 f.

² §§ 303, 340

³ § 342

to that city she assigned to her own citizens and made of it four tribes.¹ There was no reason, however, for treating the Latins harshly; for in blood and language they were one with the Romans, and as soldiers they would be of great value to Rome in her future wars. The senate determined, therefore, to admit most of them to full citizenship, and to organize them and their territory in new tribes. A few Latin towns, however, remained inferior to the rest. They were admitted to the Roman citizenship, but were not given the right to vote or to hold office at Rome. Thus their citizenship was limited. The Etruscan city of Caere had already been admitted to the Roman state and placed in this position. Such people were described as citizens without suffrage—*cives sine suffragio*. Like the other citizens they were required to perform military service. A large part of Campania had fallen under the Roman power;² and the inhabitants were likewise placed in the same class of inferior citizens. Whatever the grade of their citizenship, the people admitted to the Roman state retained their towns with self-government in local matters.³

All the Latins, however, were not taken into the Roman state. Tibur, Praeneste, and one or two other old Latin cities⁴ remained independent, and separate treaties of alliance were made between them and Rome. Several colonies, founded in Etruria and Latium, were, like Tibur and Praeneste, given the position of allies. Such were called Latin colonies.

II. THE CONQUEST OF ITALY

338–264 B.C.

347. The Second Samnite War (326–304 B.C.).—For fifteen years there was peace between Rome and Samnium. During this time the Romans continually gained strength, with the result that the Samnites feared for their own safety. Accordingly, when Rome laid siege to Naples, a free Greek city of Campania, the Samnites reinforced the place. This unfriendly act led to the Second Samnite War.

¹ § 322

² § 344

³ As explained in § 350

⁴ § 303

The fortunes of war varied. At first Rome was successful; then the tide turned in favour of Samnium. In 321 B.C. Pon'ti-us, the Samnite leader, enticed the consuls with forty thousand men into an ambush at the Cau'dine Pass, in a valley of the Apennines, and compelled them to surrender. The consuls, in the name of the state, swore to the enemy's terms of peace. Then a yoke was formed of three spears—two fixed upright in the earth and the third placed across the top. Deprived of their arms by the enemy, the Roman troops passed humbly under this yoke in token of their complete submission. It was the worst disgrace a soldier could undergo at the hands of an enemy. All were allowed to return home, excepting six hundred knights, who were detained as hostages. To the people at home the surrender was a greater humiliation than would have been the entire destruction of the army. Accordingly, they soon found a pretext for breaking the treaty.

After the disaster at the Caudine Pass, the war dragged on from year to year. It was the policy of Rome to settle and organize every foot of conquered ground and to hem in her enemy by establishing fortress colonies on the border. Although the Samnites were reinforced by the Etruscans and the Umbrians, Rome now met with success in all her battles. The consuls ravaged Etruria and captured the strongholds of Samnium. The war ended in 304 B.C.; though the Samnites had suffered great losses they remained free and renewed the former treaty.

348. The Third Samnite War (298–290 B.C.). In the Third Samnite War all the Italic peoples, the Etruscans, and a horde of Celtic invaders took part against Rome. The decisive battle was fought at Sen-ti'num in Umbria (295 B.C.). Here by a hard-won victory Rome broke the league of her enemies. Deserted by their allies, the Samnites held out resolutely for five more years. At last Man'i-us Cu'ri-us Den-ta'tus, a peasant who by personal merit had raised himself to the consulship, compelled them to sue for peace. They were now dependent allies of Rome.

The strife between the plain and the mountains began in

the wars with the Aequians and the Volscians as early at least as the beginning of the republic.¹ In time it culminated in a fierce struggle between Rome and Samnium, which, with brief interruptions, raged for more than half a century. The long conflict was now ended. It had desolated Italy from Etruria to Lucania. Cities and villages were in ruins; pastures and cornfields had become a lonely waste; thousands of warriors had fallen in battle; and thousands of men, women, and children once free were now slaves of the Romans. Civilization had triumphed, yet at a great cost; the war whetted the Roman appetite for plunder and fostered slavery, the curse of ancient society.

349. The War with Tarentum or War with Pyrrhus (281-272 B.C.).—After winning the supremacy over Samnium, the Romans naturally thought it expedient to round out their league by gaining control of all southern Italy. The principal states in that region were Greek. But many Greek cities had been conquered by the natives. Naples and a few others had become allies of Rome. The only important state remaining wholly independent was Tarentum.² It had long been a great centre of commerce and industry. The chief activity was the manufacture and dyeing of woollen goods. As most of the wool for this purpose came from Samnium, the Tarentines felt that their trade was menaced by the extension of the Roman supremacy over that country. They had made a treaty with the Romans according to which the ships of the latter should not sail past the La-cin'i-an promontory in the direction of Tarentum. With their city strongly fortified, they felt secure as long as their fleet held command of the sea, and it hardly occurred to them that Rome could build a fleet strong enough to dispute their naval supremacy. When they saw a small Roman squadron, in open violation of the treaty, sail beyond the forbidden point, they put to sea in great indignation, sunk several of the Roman ships, and massacred the crews of the others. The Romans sent an embassy to demand reparation for this and other alleged wrongs. The insolent

¹ §§ 311 f., 341

² § 77

treatment of these ambassadors led to war. Thereupon the Tarentines called on Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, for help. This king, a brilliant military genius, came with a small but strong body of troops who were skilled in the arms and tactics of the Macedonian phalanx.¹ He first met the enemy at Her-a-cle'a (280 B.C.). Seven times the light battalions of Rome threw themselves against his "hedge of spears", only to be repulsed each time with heavy loss. Then his trained elephants, charging the weakened enemy, breached their lines like a volley of artillery. The Romans were shrinking before the "gray oxen", as they called these enormous beasts, when a sudden dash of the Thessalian horse completed their ruin. Allies now began to join the victorious general, who pushed on till he came within forty miles of Rome. So great had been his own losses in the recent battle, however, that he was anxious to make peace with the enemy, whose bravery and discipline he admired. Cin'e-as, his ambassador, spoke eloquently in the senate; but Appius Claudius Caecus, a statesman old and blind, was carried on a litter into the senate house to raise his voice against these shameful proceedings: "Let Pyrrhus return home, and then we may make peace with him". In these words he set forth the principle that thereafter Rome would take care of the interests of Italy. Failing to win his cause by eloquence or bribery, Cineas returned to his master with the report that the Roman senate was an assembly of kings. At As'cu-lum (279 B.C.) Pyrrhus won another battle so dearly that he remarked to his friends, "Another such victory will ruin us". Then he crossed over to Sicily to aid his countrymen against the Carthaginians; but even with his brilliant successes there he failed to dislodge the enemy from the island. Returning with a few veterans to Italy, he was defeated at Ben-e-ven'tum (275 B.C.) by Dentatus, and thereupon withdrew to his home. After his departure Tarentum surrendered, and soon Rome became mistress of all Italy south of the Rubicon.

¹ § 255

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE ORGANIZATION OF ROMAN RULE IN ITALY; PROGRESS IN CIVILIZATION

I. ORGANIZATION

350. The Roman Citizens.—Within the territory united under Rome were communities of every grade of privilege, ranging from full Roman citizenship to subjection. First let us notice the Roman citizens. Many of them lived in Rome, or so near that they could use the markets of that city for buying and selling and could have their disputes settled before its courts. Others lived too far away to enjoy these advantages. Such persons had towns of their own called *mu-ni-ci-pi'i-a*. A municipium of the best standing was practically the same as our municipality. It had a government of its own, consisting of magistrates, council, and an assembly of all the citizens. The assembly was like a "town-meeting", but it met oftener and had more to do with the government, as it elected magistrates and voted on laws. In origin and general character it was the same as the popular assembly at Rome or at Athens. The inhabitants of such a municipium usually had their law cases settled in the courts of their own town and followed their several vocations there. As they were Roman citizens, they had a right to go to Rome and vote in the assemblies or present themselves as candidates for office. An example of such a municipium was Tusculum.

Other municipia, however, were of inferior grade. They had their own local self-government, no less than those of highest standing. Their inhabitants were also citizens of Rome; they had a right to trade with the other citizens and to intermarry with them, but not to vote or to hold office at the

capital. Caere has been mentioned as an example of this class.¹ The inhabitants were termed "citizens without suffrage".



Rarely, to punish a town for rebellion, Rome deprived it of self-government and sent out a prefect to rule it with absolute power. Such communities were called *præfect-ures*. They were the lowest grade of municipia. The inhabitants were in name citizens without suffrage, but in reality they were sub-

¹ § 346

jects. We hear of no more than two cities¹ which were treated in this way, and their degradation was only temporary.

There was one more kind of Roman community—the Roman colony. It was always a garrison, usually of three hundred citizens with their families, placed in some newly conquered town. It was generally on the coast, and the garrison was for the protection of the seaboard. A third of the land, taken from the natives, was transferred to the new settlers, and they were given full control of the government. They stood, therefore, toward the natives as nobles toward commons. The natives were given citizenship without the right to vote; but gradually they acquired the full citizenship. The distinction between them and the colonists then disappeared.

351. The Allies: Latins and Italians.—Thus far we have had to do with Roman citizens only. We are now to take under consideration the allies. Those nearest to the Romans in blood, language, customs, and sympathy were the Latins. They consisted (1) of the few old Latin towns, like Tibur,² which had not yet accepted the Roman citizenship, (2) of many Latin colonies founded in all parts of Italy. Romans as well as Latins took part in these settlements; but they were called Latin colonies because they had Latin rights—that is, they were in the same condition as an old Latin town. All Latin towns, whatever their origin, were self-governing, almost sovereign states. Each was bound to Rome by an individual treaty, which regulated the relations between the two states. The Latins who came to Rome had an unrestricted right to trade, to buy property there, and to intermarry with the Romans, and could easily obtain the citizenship if they wished. The colonies of this class served as garrisons for holding the neighbouring country loyal to Rome and as a means of extending the Latin language and civilization to the natives.

Inferior to the Latins were the allies called simply the Italians—for instance, the Samnites. As in the case of the Latins, each community had its separate treaty with Rome.

¹ They were Anagnia, which rebelled in 306 B.C., and Capua, which in the Second Punic War deserted to Hannibal.

There was among them every gradation of privilege; some were little inferior in rights to Rome, whereas the independence of others was more restricted. Neither Latins nor Italians paid taxes or tribute to Rome, but all their communities furnished the number of troops fixed by treaty to serve in whatever wars Rome might wage. Those on the coast, especially the Greek cities, furnished ships with their crews. All the allies had to equip, provision, and pay their own troops. They had no voice, however, in the declaration of wars or the conclusion of treaties.

The political organization of Italy here described had the form of a league of small states under the leadership of Rome. It was like the Peloponnesian League or the Delian Confederacy, but far more strongly centralized than either. It included the whole peninsula south of the Rubicon, excepting the Umbrian coast which was occupied by Gauls. These had been conquered by Rome and were now tributary subjects. Indeed, it was chiefly in opposition to the Gauls that the Italians, led by Rome, had come to look upon themselves as one people—the nation of the gown against the nation wearing trousers. This federal system, based upon Italian nationality and directed by Rome, assured to the peninsula domestic peace, and to the leading city a place among the great states of the world. The foremost powers of the East¹ at this time were Egypt—with which Rome allied herself in 273 B.C.—Macedon, and the Seleucid empire; of the West, Carthage and Rome.

352. Members of the Roman-Italian League

I. Roman Citizens

1. Those living in or near Rome, using its markets and courts
2. Citizens of municipia of the first class—with local self-government and the right to vote and hold office at Rome
3. Citizens of municipia of the second class—with local self-government, but without the right to vote and to hold office at Rome
4. Citizens of municipia of the third class, or prefectures—with neither self-government nor the right to vote and hold office at Rome
5. Citizens of Roman colonies—with privileges like inhabitants of municipia of the first class.

¹ § 278

II. **Allies bound by treaty to follow the leadership of Rome in war, not tributary**

1. Latins, especially favoured, had easy access to the Roman citizenship.

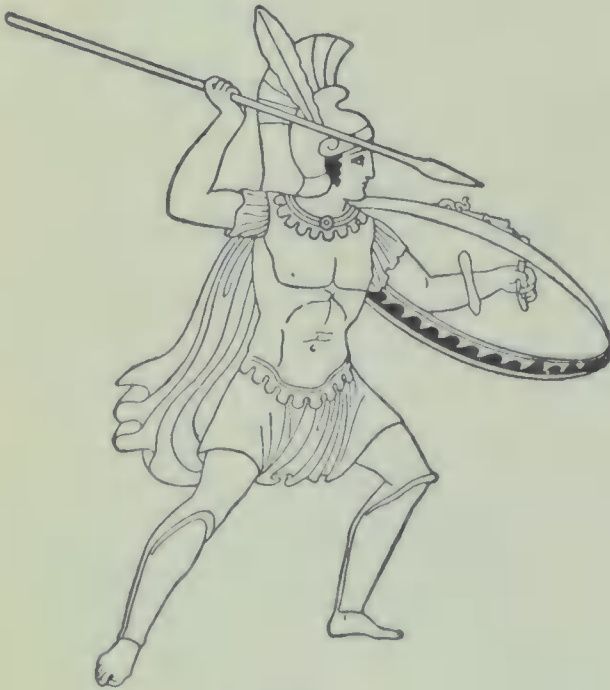
a. A few old Latin towns

b. Latin colonies

2. Italians, less favoured, differed greatly from one another in privileges.

III. **Subjects.**—The Gauls of Umbria, tributary.

353. Military Reform: Change from the Phalanx to the Legion.—During the first century of the republic the phalanx,



ITALIAN SOLDIER

(From a vase-painting, about 300 B.C.; British Museum)

as organized by Servius,¹ was used. The soldiers served without pay and equipped themselves according to their means. In the war with Veii, however, the senate began to pay them for service, thus making possible a thorough change in the military system; for henceforth the citizens, who had been accustomed to short summer campaigns, could serve the entire year, when necessary, and the poor man as well as the rich

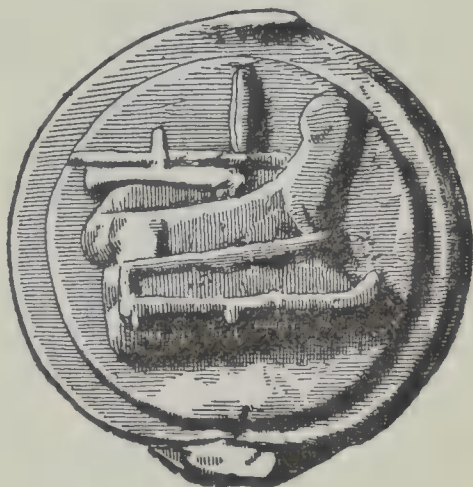
could buy a complete equipment. Hence the distinction of classes in the armour and in the arrangement of the troops gave way to a ranking according to experience. The recruit entered the light division; after a time he passed to the front line of the heavy infantry, thence to the second line, and when he became a veteran, to the third. The soldiers of the first

two lines, besides defensive armour, carried each two *pila*, or javelins for hurling, and a sword. The veterans were armed in the same way, except that instead of javelins each carried a lance.

In place of the solid phalanx, the lines of heavy-armed men were now divided each into ten companies, called maniples, stationed at intervals in such a way that the vacant spaces in



AN



As

(A bronze coin of the fourth century B.C., weighing $10\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Front, head of Janus; back, prow of galley)

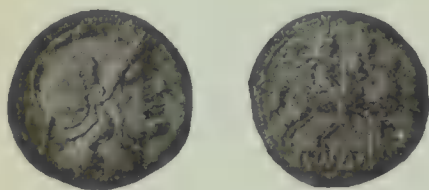
a line were covered by the companies of the following line. Each line was several ranks deep. Ordinarily a legion consisted of three thousand heavy-armed troops and twelve hundred light-armed. The number of legions varied according to the requirements of war. There were regularly three hundred cavalry attached to each legion.

The beginning of this military reform is ascribed to Camillus,¹ the famous dictator who captured Veii; it was nearly completed at the end of the war with Pyrrhus.

II. CIVILIZATION AND CHARACTER

354. Public Works.—While the Romans were becoming masters of Italy and improving their laws and their constitution, they were also growing richer. In the fourth century

B.C. they began to coin bronze, and early in the third, silver. The nobles reaped the profits of large tracts of conquered land and bought a great number of slaves. The state, too, acquired considerable property through conquest. Some of this wealth could be used for public works. Appius Claudius Caecus, during his long censorship, 312–307 B.C.,¹ built an aqueduct, named after him the Appian Aqueduct, which brought the city plenty of fresh water from the hills about ten miles distant.



A DENARIUS

(A silver coin struck soon after 286 B.C.
Front, head of Roma; back, Castor
and Pollux on horseback)

Through a great part of its course it ran underground. This was the first work of the kind at Rome. After his time, as the city continued for centuries to grow in population, larger and longer aqueducts had to be built. In some of them the water flowed high above ground in a channel supported by a series of stone arches.

Another great work of the same censor was a military road—the Appian Way—extending from Rome to Capua. This, too, was the first of the kind. It was built as straight and as level as possible. Steep hills were tunnelled, and marshes and deep valleys were spanned by gigantic causeways of stone. In the more even places the road-bed was made of tightly-pressed earth, and the surface was everywhere paved with large, flat, durable stones.² Along the side milestones were set up, and at intervals of less than a mile other stones were placed as steps for mounting on horseback. The example of Claudius was followed by other statesmen, till in the course of centuries a net-work of these roads covered the whole domain ruled by Rome. The primary object was the rapid movement of armies and of military supplies and official letters. They were free also to the public for travel, commerce, and all other purposes. It was largely by means of such roads that Rome was able to protect the great empire she was building up, to govern it

¹ He held the censorship during this long term for the purpose of building the public works described in this paragraph.

² For an example of such a pavement, see illustration, p. 427.

efficiently, and to bind all parts of it together by the ties of commerce and a common civilization. These, however, were but the far-off results of the example set by Claudius.

355. Education and Intelligence.—Business and diplomacy forced the more ambitious Romans even in this early time to learn the Greek language. There were probably as yet no schools, so that children had to get at home, from their parents or from Greek slaves, their whole education. Apart from the Twelve Tables, and a few poems, proverbs, and orations composed by Appius Claudius, the Romans had no books whatever, and Greek literature was not yet studied, excepting by a few individuals. The Romans continued, however, to adopt Greek gods. One of the latest acquisitions in this period was Aescu-la'pi-us, god of healing, for whom they built a shrine on an island in the Tiber adjacent to the city. It was customary for sick persons to pass the night in this temple, in the belief that the god would heal them while they were asleep. Many stories of divine healing were in circulation.



AESCULAPIUS

356. Personal and Public Character.—The early Romans were distinguished for their patience and energy. Their virtue, the fruit of a simple life, increased in strength and in severity throughout the period. This growth was owing to the care with which the republican government supervised the citizens. The magistrates had power to punish, not only for crimes but for every offence against order, however slight, and even for

(Excellent ancient copy of a fifth century (B.C.) original. Probably stood in the shrine at Rome. National Museum. Naples)

immorality, including lazy or luxurious habits. While all officers enjoyed this authority, it became the especial duty of the censors to see that every citizen subjected himself to the severe discipline prescribed by the state.

The aim of education in the family and in public life was to repress the freedom of the individual in the interest of the state, to make a nation of brave warriors and dutiful citizens. The highest results of this stern training were reached in the Samnite Wars—a period known thereafter as the Golden Age of virtue and of heroism. A citizen of this time was, in the highest degree, obedient to authority, pious, frugal, and generally honest. But though he was willing to sacrifice his life for the good of the state, he was equally ready to enrich himself at the expense of his neighbours; the wealthy did not hesitate to sell the poor into slavery for debt, till they were forbidden to do so by law. Their hard, stern souls knew neither generosity nor mercy. Severe toward the members of their family, cruel in the treatment of slaves, and in their business transactions shrewd and grasping, the Romans of the time, however admirable for their heroic virtues, were narrow, harsh, and unlovable.

As long as they remained poor and under strict discipline, they were moral. In the following period they were to gain greater freedom from the control of their magistrates, and, at the same time, power and wealth. These new conditions were to put their virtue and even their government to the severest test.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE EXPANSION OF THE ROMAN POWER TO THE END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

264–201 B.C.

I. THE FIRST PUNIC WAR: A STRUGGLE FOR THE POSSESSION OF SICILY

264–241 B.C.

357. Carthage and her Empire.—On the northern coast of Africa, opposite Rome, was the Punic city of Carthage.¹ Not only did the country about it produce abundant harvests, but it was well situated for trade with the East and the West, and with Sicily and Italy. These advantages made the city wealthy and prosperous. In time it became, too, a political power.² On the coasts and islands of the western Mediterranean Carthage built up a great empire. It included the larger part of the north coast of Africa, a strip of the western coast beyond the Pillars of Hercules, part of southern Spain and of Corsica, all Sardinia, and nearly all Sicily, besides many small islands. Carthage was about to wrest the remainder of Sicily from the Greeks when Pyrrhus came as their champion.³ He tried in vain to drive her from the island. As he departed, he is said to have exclaimed regretfully, "What a fair battle-field we are leaving to the Romans and the Carthaginians!" These two nations were then allied against him, but he knew well that they would soon dispute the possession of Sicily. Quickly the Carthaginians regained the whole island with the exception of the territory belonging to Mess-sa'na and Syracuse. If they could conquer these two cities, they would naturally invade Italy. Rome, the protector of the Italians, was anxiously watching her rivals' movements.

¹ "Punic" (*Punicus*) is Latin for Phoenician.

² § 158

³ § 349

The ambition of the Carthaginians was even more for commercial than political empire. At the time Rome became a republic they were willing to grant her people a right under certain restrictions to trade with their cities; a century and a half later they closed their ports to the Romans, excepting those of Carthage itself. As time went on they determined more resolutely to monopolize the commerce of the western Mediterranean. When, therefore, in their voyages they fell in with a vessel bound for any of their western ports, they used to confiscate it and throw the crew into the sea. "The Romans cannot wash their hands in the sea without our consent", exclaimed one of their admirals. It is easy to understand how so aggressive a spirit was sure to involve Carthage in war as soon as she came into contact with a power capable of defending itself.

An Asiatic race, the Carthaginians were inferior to the Romans in character and civilization. In times of excitement the government was controlled by the mob of citizens; in normal conditions, by the power of wealth. Their public men were corrupt; they oppressed their subjects with heavy taxes and gave them no hope of ever having equal rights with themselves. Their religion, too, was inhuman and immoral. Such being the case, it would have been unfortunate for any large part of Europe to fall permanently under their rule. It was the task of Rome to protect the higher and better civilization of Europe from this danger.

358. Causes of the War.—The underlying cause of the war was simply the conflict of interests between Carthage and Rome. Carthage felt it to her advantage to gain possession of all Sicily, and afterward of Italy if possible. Thus far her power had expanded unchecked, and she could not see how the Romans, who had no navy, could stand in her way. Rome, on the other hand, as the head of Italy, was under obligations to defend the peninsula. The chief motive of the Romans, therefore, was the protection of themselves and of their allies. There were among them, however, a few influential nobles who were not satisfied with what Rome had already acquired, but

wished to annex a part of Sicily. Some, indeed, were willing to embark the state in wars merely to win glory and profit for themselves. Hence we may say that a secondary motive on the part of Rome was the glory and profit of conquest.

The immediate cause of war was as follows. Some Campanian mercenaries, released from the service of Syracuse, seized Messina. They killed the men and divided the women, children, and property among themselves. For a time the Mamertines ("sons of Mars"), as these robbers called themselves, enjoyed their ill-gotten homes and levied tribute on many towns of Sicily; but, threatened by both Greeks and Carthaginians, they appealed to Rome for aid on the ground of kindred blood. Although the senate felt it would be unjust to aid the Mamertines, it feared that if the Carthaginians should conquer them and gain control of all Sicily, they would not hesitate to lay hands on Italy. For this reason the assembly was persuaded to vote for a defensive alliance with Messina. This act was equivalent to a declaration of war with Carthage.

359. The Resources of Rome and Carthage.—The resources of the two nations were quite different. With her magnificent navy Carthage controlled the sea. Her wealth enabled her to enlist great armies of mercenaries, who, however, often proved treacherous to the city they served. Her citizens were mostly merchants and artisans, wholly unfit for military duty. Few served in the war except as officers. This condition of the army was a great source of weakness to Carthage. Italy, on the other hand, was an agricultural country with a dense population; it had more men fit for military service than any other state of the world at that time. Accustomed to severe, patient labour on their farms, they were the hardiest, best disciplined fighters in the world. Equally important is the fact that they were devoted to their country and to Rome. Their states formed a strong league of kinsmen; each managed its own local affairs, but all acknowledged Rome absolute mistress of their military resources. Their only weakness was their lack of ships and of naval experience. Of the two great powers now coming into conflict, each was strong where the other

was weak. The struggle was to be long and severe; no one knew which would conquer.

360. Opening Events; the Battle of Mylae (260 B.C.).—After the government had resolved to help the Mamertines, the consul in command borrowed a few ships from the naval allies and skilfully brought his army into Messana, though the Carthaginians and Syracusans were besieging the city by land and sea. Driving the besiegers away, the Romans made an alliance with Hi'e-ron, king of Syracuse. The cities of the interior readily yielded, as they found greater security under Rome than either Syracuse or Carthage had given them. To drive the Carthaginians from the coast towns it was necessary to build a fleet; for, though the Greek allies of Rome could furnish a few triremes, no state in Italy possessed quin'queremes—vessels with five banks of oars—such as made up the strength of the enemy's navy. Using a stranded Carthaginian quinquereme as a model, the Romans, with their usual courage and energy, began to build a fleet. While some were busy with this work, others trained the crews by having them sit on benches along the shore and practise rowing in the sand.¹ When they had completed their fleet, they put to sea and engaged the enemy off My'lae (260 B.C.). Their ships were clumsy and their sailors awkward, but they boarded the enemy's vessels by means of drawbridges which they had recently invented, and thus gained the victory. This success increased their fervour for war.

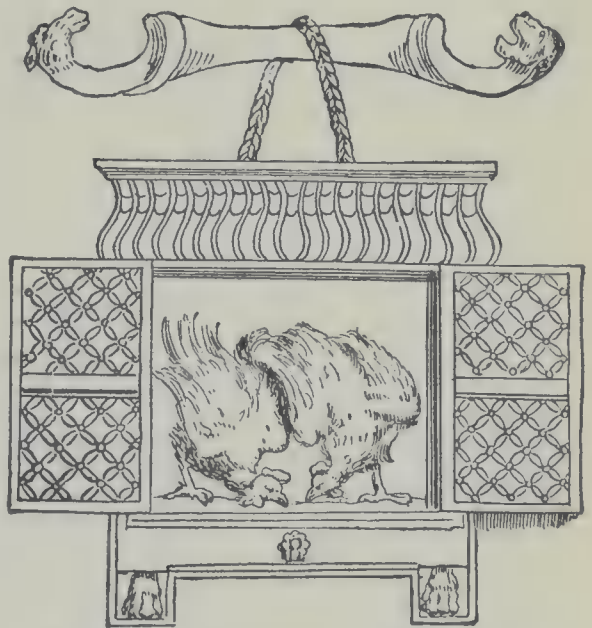
361. The Invasion of Libya and the Captivity of Regulus (256–250 B.C.).—The Romans then built a fleet of three hundred and thirty vessels, and placing on board nearly a hundred and forty thousand men, they set sail for Libya. Off Ec'nomus on the Sicilian coast they met and defeated a still larger fleet of the enemy, after which they continued on their way to Africa. There, under the consul Reg'u-lus, they gained victories and captured towns, till Xan-thip'pus, a Lacedaemonian, taught the Carthaginians to offer battle in the plain, where

¹ This account is given by Polybius, an eminently trustworthy historian, and there is no reason for doubting it.

they could use their elephants and their great force of cavalry to advantage. The result was the destruction of the Roman army and the capture of Regulus.

Other misfortunes followed; but in 250 B.C. a great victory at Pa-nor'mus gave the Romans nearly all Sicily. In these circumstances the government of Carthage sent Regulus, who was still a captive, to Rome, to arrange for an exchange of prisoners, promising him liberty if he should succeed. In the

story told by Roman poets who lived long after the event, he refused to enter Rome as a senator or even as a citizen, saying he had forfeited all his rights by allowing himself to be taken captive. When finally he was persuaded to address the senate, he advised that body not to make peace or to ransom the captives, but to let them die in the land where they had disgraced themselves by surrender. Thus they would



SACRED CHICKENS IN A PORTABLE COOP
(From Schreiber, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*)

serve as an example to others; he would himself return and share their fate. In vain the senators remonstrated against his decision. While departing from Rome he kept his eyes fixed on the ground that he might not see his wife or his children. Then, returning to Carthage in accordance with his oath, he is said to have suffered death by torture. Notwithstanding some poetic touches, the story seems in the main to be true. It is a picture of a man who was absolutely faithful to his plighted word, of a stern patriot ready to sacrifice himself and his fellow-captives for what he believed to be his country's good,



MOUNT ERCIYE
(From a photograph)

of a strong-willed man who knew his fate and walked resolutely to meet it. These were traits of the ideal Roman.

362. The Defeat at Drepana (249 B.C.).—At this time the Romans were besieging Lil-y-bae'um on the west coast of Sicily. Farther to the north was Drep'a-na, where Ad-her'bal, a Punic admiral, was stationed with his fleet. In 249 B.C. the consul Publius Claudius sailed from Lilybaeum to Drepana to surprise Adherbal. But the admiral, far from being caught napping, met the enemy and inflicted upon him an overwhelming defeat. The Romans tried to account for this disaster by a story that when Claudius was planning the attack, he received word that the sacred chickens would not eat¹—an omen which signified that the gods forbade the enterprise. Haughtily exclaiming that if the fowls would not eat, at least they would have to drink, he threw them into the sea. His impiety, together with his lack of skill, is given as the cause of this great misfortune.

363. Hamilcar Barca (247–241 B.C.).—While the Romans were besieging Lilybaeum, Carthage sent out a general who was to prove, in himself and in his sons, the most dangerous enemy Rome ever met. This was Ha-mil'car, surnamed Bar'ca (the "Lightning"), a man of extraordinary genius for war. He occupied Mount Erc'te, above Panormus, which was then held by a Roman army. On the top of the mountain he fed cattle and raised corn to support the handful of troops who performed wonders under the spell of his genius. From the little harbour beneath him his light ships harassed the Italian coasts, while from the eagle's perch above he used to swoop down, rapid as the lightning, upon the Romans in the neighbourhood, and as easily retire to the nest which no enemy dared explore.

After maintaining himself for three years in this position, he suddenly abandoned it for a post on the side of Mount E'ryx, where he could co-operate with his friends at Drepana. But with his small force he could accomplish little. Neither

¹Whereas a magistrate in Rome took auspices by watching the sky (§ 320), the commander of an army carried with him on his campaigns a flock of sacred chickens, whose manner of eating furnished him with auspices. The more greedily they ate, the more favourable were the omens.

nation in fact had any longer the means of supporting a fleet or a strong army in service. Without a navy Rome could not hope to gain complete possession of Sicily. In these circumstances the wealthier citizens offered their private means for the building of new warships. With two hundred vessels thus provided for, the consul Cat'ulus, at the Ae-ga'ti-an islands, met a new Carthaginian fleet bringing supplies to Sicily and totally defeated it (241 B.C.).

As the Carthaginians could carry on the war no longer, they gave Hamilcar full power to make peace. In the treaty as finally adopted, the Carthaginians agreed to give up Sicily, to pay the Romans within ten years an amount¹ equivalent to three and a half millions of dollars, and to release all prisoners without ransom. After continuing twenty-three years, the First Punic War came to an end in 241 B.C.

II. "BREATHING-TIME" BETWEEN TWO GREAT WARS

241-218 B.C.

364. Sicily the First Roman Province (227 B.C.).—When the Romans began to win victories in Sicily, their first thought was to regard the island merely as an extension of Italy. In this frame of mind they made treaties of alliance with Mes-sana, Syracuse, and a few other towns which had specially favoured them. These states were left precisely in the same condition as Italian allies. Another class of Sicilian states, slightly more numerous, were declared "exempt from tribute and free"—not by treaty, but by an act of the Roman government. They had substantially the same rights as the allied states, but no guarantee for the continuance of these rights, as Rome could alter their condition at her pleasure. This was a departure from the Italian federal system. A far greater departure occurred when an act of the government placed the remainder of the states² in a condition of perpetual subjection. The group of dependent states constituted the province of

¹ 3,200 talents.

² All the states here referred to—in fact, nearly all the states of the Roman empire—were little city-states; § 69. Every province was a group of such states.

Sicily. It included the greater part of the island. The organization of the province was completed in 227 B.C., when Rome began to send out every year a praetor¹ to govern it. His duties were mainly military and judicial. He commanded the army in the province and settled disputes at law between Romans. Each state had its own courts for the trial of its citizens. It retained its own laws and customs, its magistrates, council, and popular assembly, and was usually free from interference on the part of the governor. In fact, the Roman government did not have a sufficient number of officials for managing the affairs of the states, even if it had wished to do so; and the idea of taking charge of such local matters did not occur to Rome till long after the republic had passed away. The subject states were free from military duty, but paid instead an annual tribute. In the case of Sicily it was a tenth of all the produce of the fields. Two quaestors were annually sent to Sicily to manage these finances. At an auction they sold to the highest bidder the privilege of collecting the taxes, making a separate sale in the case of each state. Usually a state sent its own agent to bid for the collection, in order that it might be free from the exactions of foreign tax-collectors. This was the organization of the first Roman province, and those afterward established differed but slightly.² As the number of provinces increased, they came to be governed, not by magistrates, but by promagistrates—men who held magisterial rank and power, without office, outside of Rome. Such governors were either *propraetors* or *proconsuls*. On the whole the plan of administration was fair; and if justly adhered to, it would not have been oppressive. The abuses of the system will be considered in another place.³

365. The Mercenary War and the Seizure of Sardinia and Corsica (241–237 B.C.).—As Carthage could not pay her mercenaries for their service in the war, they mutinied, and were joined by the Libyans, who revolted against their harsh task-

¹ The praetorship was instituted at Rome in 367 B.C. (§ 338). In 227 B.C. there were four praetors. Two attended to judicial business at Rome, and two were sent out to govern the new provinces organized in that year.

² For instance, every other province had but one quaestor.

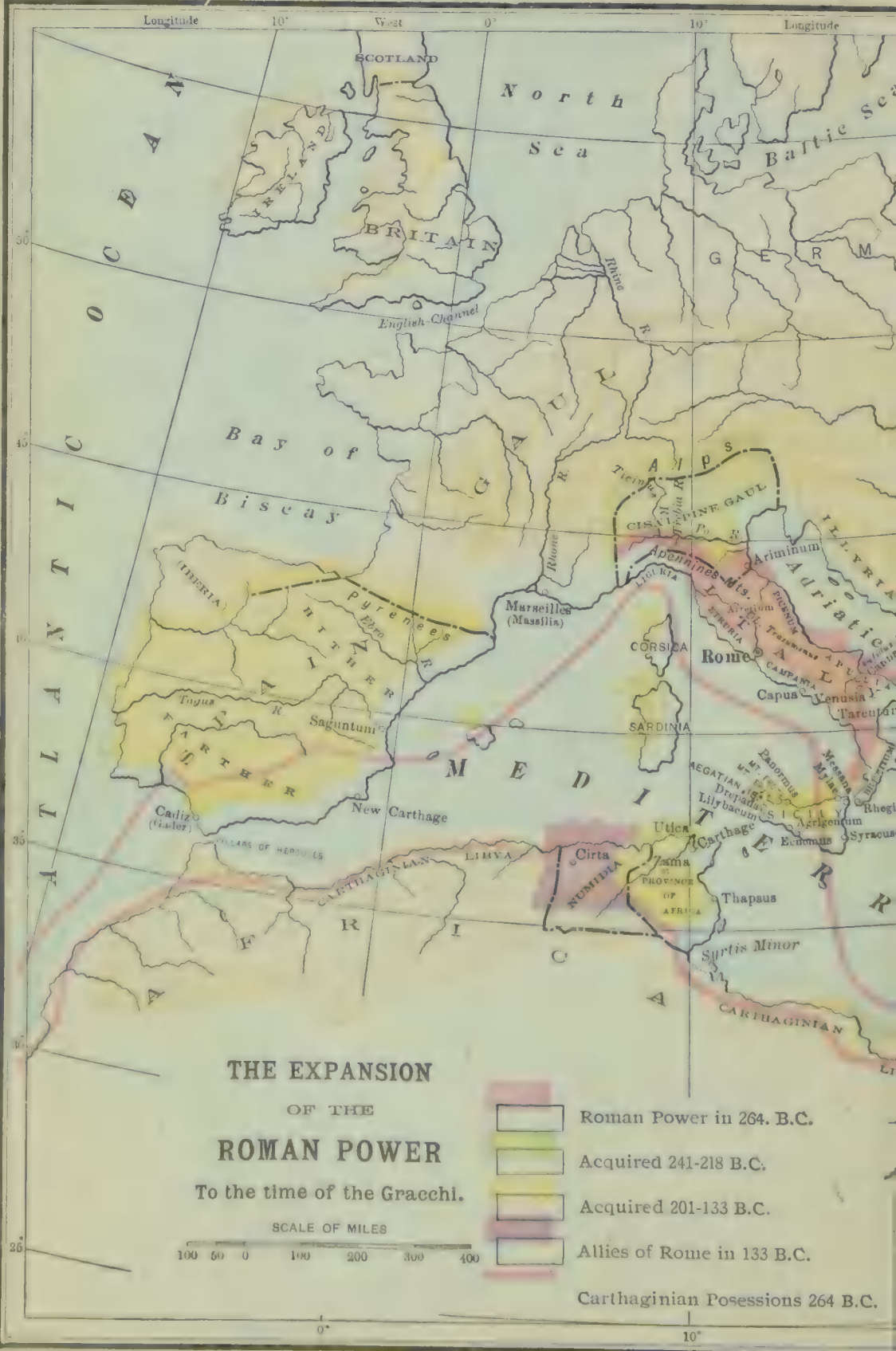
³ § 389.

masters. While the whole strength of Carthage was engaged in this war (241–237 B.C.), the Romans treacherously seized Sardinia and Corsica; and when she remonstrated, they imposed upon her a heavy fine. Utterly exhausted by the mercenary war, then drawing to a close, Carthage yielded. It would be impossible on moral grounds to justify the conduct of the Romans in these dealings with their defeated enemy. Their motive, however, was not mere greed for territory. They had fought twenty-three years for the possession of Sicily, mainly for the protection of their own peninsula from Carthaginian attack. After expending so much treasure and blood for the accomplishment of this end, they would remain almost as much exposed to attack as ever, as long as Carthage held Sardinia and Corsica. Self-preservation was, accordingly, their chief motive for the treacherous seizure of these islands. Sardinia and Corsica together became the second Roman province in the same year as Sicily (227 B.C.). Its government was about the same, though somewhat less favourable to the inhabitants.

366. Gaius Flaminius; the Gallic War (225–222 B.C.).—The majority of Roman citizens were not satisfied with the new provincial system. They were disappointed to receive no assignments of land in Sicily, whereas the nobles seemed to them to be bent upon enriching themselves by trade and speculation in the new provinces. It was a further cause of dissatisfaction that large tracts of land recently acquired by the state in Picenum and along the Umbrian coast were reserved by the nobles, to be “occupied”¹ by themselves instead of being distributed among the citizens. This selfish policy was upheld by the senate. Against its wishes Gaius Fla-min’i-us, tribune of the plebs in 232 B.C., carried through the assembly a law for distributing these public lands among the citizens. In the new settlements immediately established there under this law the Gauls of the Po Valley² saw a menace to their own possessions. They began war upon Rome, therefore, in 225 B.C.

¹ In theory the rents of this land went to the support of the government, but in point of fact, the occupiers generally failed to pay anything for its use.

² §§ 306, 343








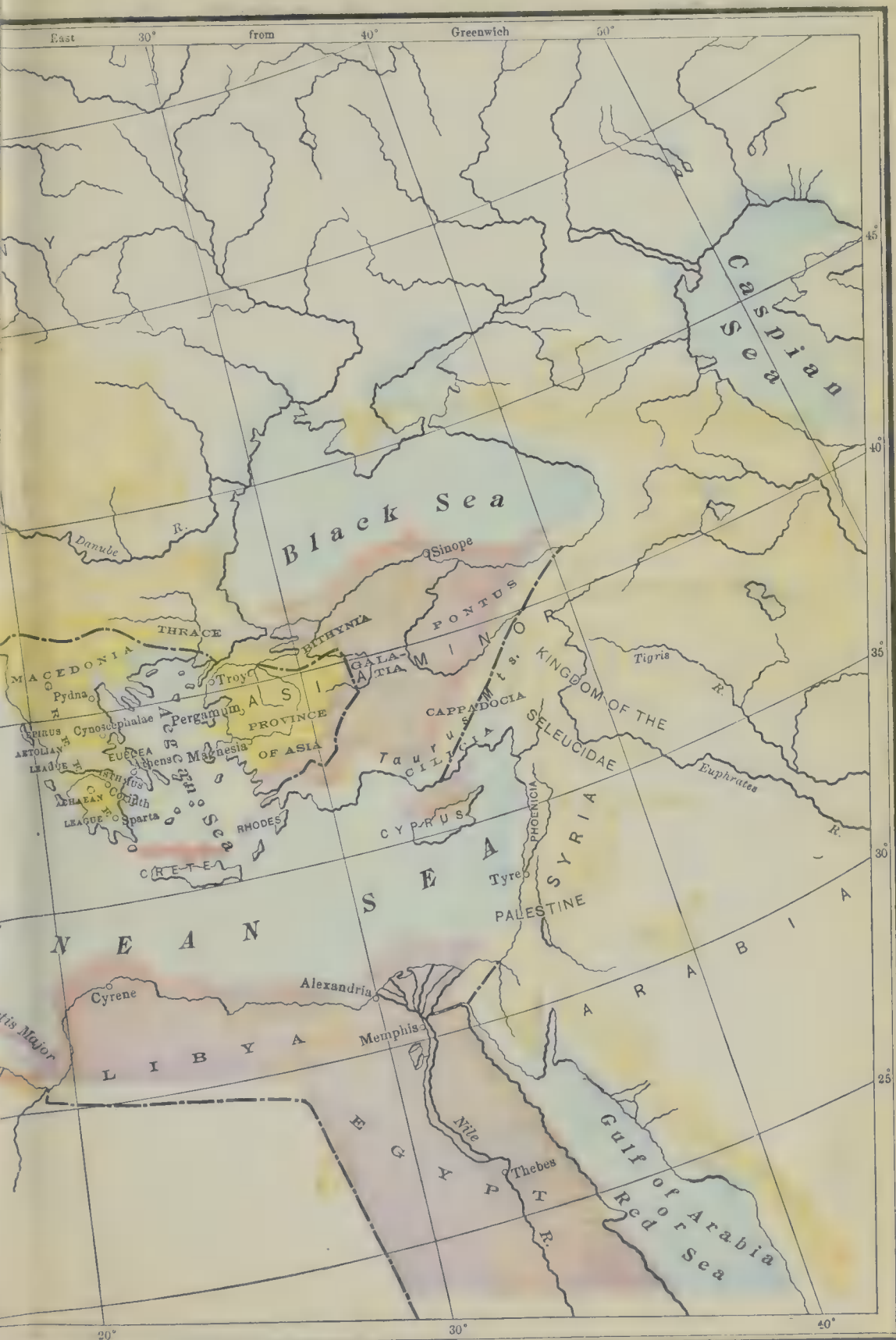
**THE EXPANSION
OF THE
ROMAN POWER**

To the time of the Gracchi.

SCALE OF MILES



-  Roman Power in 264. B.C.
-  Acquired 241-218 B.C.
-  Acquired 201-133 B.C.
-  Allies of Rome in 133 B.C.
-  Carthaginian Possessions 264 B.C.



368. War with the Illyrians (229–228 B.C.).—For some time Italian merchants, trading with Greece, had been plundered by Illyrian pirates. Some had been murdered and others taken captive and held for ransom. After many complaints of these outrages had come before the Roman government, the senate sent a commission to Il-lyr'i-a to investigate. The members were mistreated, and one was killed. Thereupon the Romans made war against the offending country. In a brief naval campaign they chastised the piratical inhabitants and made them promise to pay tribute. Corcyra and one or two other Greek states became allies of Rome to secure protection from the Illyrians for the future. Roman envoys then went to the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues¹ to justify the conduct of their city in the war. The federal authorities expressed their gratitude to the friendly state which had chastised the pirates. These were Rome's first diplomatic relations with Greece.²

369. Hamilcar in Spain (237–229 B.C.).—While Rome was gaining these successes in the north of Italy and in Illyria, a power was arising in Spain which was soon to threaten her existence. Hamilcar, who had looked upon the peace between Rome and Carthage as a temporary make-shift, grew indignant over the treachery of the Romans in relation to Sardinia and Corsica. His soul burned with hatred of the city which by force and fraud had robbed his fatherland of its naval supremacy and its fairest possessions. He began to think how he might lead an army into Italy and attack Rome. But as he could not depend upon mercenaries, he planned to create in Spain a province which should supply both troops and provisions for another war. When he was about to set out for Spain, he is said to have led his son Han'ni-bal, then a boy of nine years, to the altar and to have made him swear undying enmity to Rome. Hannibal went with his father and was true to his oath.

In Spain Hamilcar occupied nine years in forming a Carthaginian province more by diplomacy than by war; he taught the

¹ § 233

² Ten years afterward there was a second Illyrian War (219 B.C.), in which the Romans were likewise successful. Illyria then became dependent on Rome, but was not organized as a province under the name Illyricum till some unknown time after 167 B.C.

native tribes to live together in peace under his rule and to develop the resources of their country. "Then he died in a manner worthy of his great achievements; for he lost his life in a battle in which he showed a conspicuous and even reckless bravery. As his successor, the Carthaginians appointed his son-in-law Has'dru-bal."¹

370. Hannibal.—Hasdrubal continued the wise policy of his predecessor with wonderful skill in gaining over the tribes and in adding them to his empire. When after eight years of such service he was murdered by a Celt, the soldiers with loud enthusiasm carried Hannibal to the general's tent and proclaimed him commander (221 B.C.). As they looked upon this young man, "the veterans imagined that Hamilcar in his youth was restored to them; they noticed the same vigour in his frame, the same animation in his eyes, the same features and expression of the face. . . . His courage in meeting dangers and his prudence in the midst of them were extreme. Toil could neither exhaust his body nor subdue his mind, and he could endure hunger and cold alike. He ate and drank no more than nature demanded. Working day and night, he thought of sleep only when there was nothing else to do; then, wrapping himself in his military cloak, he would lie on the ground among the watchers and the outposts of the army. Though he dressed as a plain officer, his arms and his horses were splendid".²

III. THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

218–201 B.C.

371. Invasion of Italy (218 B.C.).—When Hannibal felt himself prepared, he attacked Sa-gun'tum, a city of Spain in alliance with Rome, and took it after a siege of eight months. This act gave the Romans a pretext for war. But while they were preparing to invade both Spain and Libya, Hannibal, with a well-trained army of fifty thousand infantry, nine thousand cavalry, and a number of elephants, crossed the Pyrenees and marched rapidly through Gaul. Recently the Romans had

¹ Polybius, ii. 1

² Livy, xxi. 4

conquered the Celts of northern Italy.¹ As this whole nation was indignant with Rome on account of injuries received, they eagerly supported Hannibal on his march through their country. It was not till the crossing of the Rhone that he met with opposition from the natives. When, however, he began the ascent of the Alps, the real difficulties of his journey appeared; for the way was narrow and rough, and the mountaineers attacked him. From the higher ground, which secured their own safety, they rolled stones and hurled missiles upon the troops and upon the long train of pack animals. Many soldiers fell, and many beasts of burden were either disabled or lost, so that the army suffered for want of provisions. At length with great toil and peril Hannibal reached the summit, where he rested his men and cheered them with some such words as these: "Here on the summit of the Alps, we hold the citadel of Italy; below us on the south are our friends, the Gauls, who will supply us with provisions from their bountiful lands and will help us against their foes; and yonder in the distance lies Rome!"

But when he reached the plain below, he had less than half the army with which he had set out from Spain. Those who survived were worn out with fatigue, hunger, and exposure to the cold. Their horses were lame, their clothes in tatters; they seemed more like savages than well-disciplined troops. With such forces he had come to attack a nation which numbered seven hundred thousand men of military age. And yet it was to be no one-sided contest. An army of trained soldiers, full of the spirit of their great commander, opposed a raw militia. A born genius for war, Hannibal had served an apprenticeship under his illustrious father; as general he had subdued fierce tribes of Spaniards and Gauls and had overcome the Alps themselves. Compared with him, though he was still young, the ablest Roman generals were tiroes.

372. The Battle of the Ticinus and of the Trebia (218 B.C.)—The Romans, who had been dreaming of conquests, were astonished to hear that Hannibal was in the valley of the Po.

He soon made them feel that the struggle was to be for their homes and their country. In a light cavalry battle on the Ti-ci'nus, a tributary of the Po, he easily routed the consul Scip'i-o. Discovering that the Punic horsemen were far superior to his own, Scipio withdrew to the south bank of the Po and sought the protection of the hills near the Treb'i-a River. Here his colleague, Sem-pro'ni-us, with another army, joined him and took chief command; for Scipio had been wounded in the battle.

One stormy morning in December Hannibal, after giving his men a good breakfast and plenty of oil for their bodies, sent out a band of cavalry to tempt the enemy across the river. Sempronius, who was eager for battle, that he might win for himself the glory of victory, readily led his army out before breakfast through the swollen Trebia. Hungry and numbed with cold, the Romans were doomed to defeat. The Carthaginian horse routed their wings, while Hannibal's brother Mago, an impetuous fighter, assailed them from an ambush in the rear. The struggle, though long, ended in the complete overthrow of the Romans. Ten thousand of their best infantry fought their way through the enemy and escaped. Nearly all the rest were killed or captured, and Hannibal held their camp. This great success led the Gauls, who had hitherto wavered, to cast in their lot with the victor.

News of the misfortune depressed Rome. Throughout the winter the citizens could talk of nothing but evil omens. Meanwhile the government was preparing to resist the invader. One of the consuls, Gaius Flaminius, a great favourite of the people and an enemy of the senate,¹ posted himself with an army at Ar-re'ti-um in Etruria. Ser-vil'i-us, the patrician consul, took command of another army at Ariminum. Thus the consuls lay, each with his army, guarding the two principal roads which connected the Po Valley with central Italy.

373. The Battle of Lake Trasimene; Hannibal and Fabius (217 B.C.).—But Hannibal surprised them by taking an unusual route over the Apennines far to the west. In crossing

¹ §§ 366 f.

the marshes north of the Ar'nus River his troops suffered terrible hardships. For four days and three nights they waded continually through mud and water. When at length Hannibal reached dry ground in Etruria and found Flaminius still guarding Arretium, he passed the enemy without noticing him and took the highway for Rome, plundering as he went. Flaminius could but follow; for he felt he must gain a victory to bring success to his political party in its conflict with the senate. Unwarily he fell into a trap at Lake Tras'i-mene, where he was killed and his army annihilated. When news of this calamity reached Rome and the praetor announced to the people, "We have been beaten in a great battle", the Romans, long unused to misfortune, gave way to unmanly grief and alarm. With the advice of the senate, however, they elected Quintus Fabius Maximus dictator; for the surviving consul was too far away to make the appointment, according to custom.

Instead of attacking Rome, Hannibal crossed the peninsula to the Adriatic coast and moved gradually southward, gathering vast booty from the country through which he passed. Fabius would not risk a battle, but dogged the footsteps of the invader, cut off foraging parties, and trained his own men to face the enemy in light engagements. Because of this method of campaigning Fabius came to be named the *Cunctator* ("Delayer"). As his policy did not prevent the Carthaginians from marching and plundering wherever they pleased, it proved extremely unpopular and brought the severest criticism upon the dictator. Yet his persistence in avoiding battle saved Rome for the year from another defeat.

374. The Battle of Cannae (216 B.C.).—Unusual efforts were made to levy and train troops for the following summer. The new consuls, Ae-mil'i-us and Var'ro, led a force of more than eighty thousand men, including allies, against Hannibal. This was the largest single army Rome had ever put into the field, while the force of the enemy numbered about fifty thousand. The two armies met at Can'nae on the Au'fi-dus River in Apulia. Varro, who held chief command on the day of battle,

massed his maniples¹ in a heavy line, in the hope of overcoming by sheer weight. While the superior cavalry of the enemy routed his wings, his centre, a solid phalanx, drove in the opposing Iberians and Celts, but then found itself assailed on all sides—Gauls and Iberians in front, with a violent wind driving clouds of dust in the face, veteran Libyans on both flanks, and in the rear a tempest of cavalry. Too crowded to keep rank or even to use their weapons, the Romans fell like sheep under the knives of butchers. Seven eighths of their army, including Aemilius, eighty senators, and many other eminent men, perished. Varro, who survived, collected the remnants of the army, amounting to scarcely ten thousand men.

News of this defeat brought intense agony to Rome. Every household mourned its dead, while all feared for the city and for their own lives. But the senate met the crisis in a manly spirit. It encouraged the people, posted guards about the city, and did everything possible to save the state.

On the evening after the battle Ma-har'bal, leader of the Punic horsemen, said to his commander. "Send me in advance with the cavalry, follow with the army, and five days hence we shall dine in Rome!" Hannibal knew, however, that with his present force he could take Rome neither by storm nor by siege; but through the revolt of the allies he hoped to cause the ruin of the capital.

375. Changed Character of the War.—With the battle of Cannae the character of the war changed. Nearly all the allies of Rome in southern Italy, including the great cities of Capua and Tarentum, revolted. On the death of Hieron,² king of Syracuse, Sicily also forsook Rome. Philip V,³ king of Macedon, who watched jealously the interference of the senate in the Greek peninsula, allied himself with the victorious Carthaginian. Though none of these allies gave material help, Hannibal felt himself bound to protect his Italian friends. The policy of defence to which he was thus forced, gradually wasted his army, robbed him of the prestige of success, and in the end caused his failure. The greatest of all obstacles in his way

¹ § 353

² § 360

³ §§ 238, 378 f.

were the fortified Latin colonies distributed over Italy, which continued faithful to Rome. These strongholds he was unable to take. The Romans, on the other side, following the policy of Fabius, ventured no more pitched battles with Hannibal in Italy.

But they made great efforts to regain Sicily. After a long siege Marcellus took Syracuse. His soldiers plundered it and killed many of the people, including Ar-chi-mé-des, a famous mathematician, whose engines had been used in the defence of the city. Next, the Romans surrounded Capua with three armies. In the hope of diverting a part of this force, so as to relieve the besieged allies, Hannibal suddenly marched upon Rome and pitched his camp three miles from the city. The inhabitants imagined that their terrible enemy had destroyed the armies at Capua and would soon hold the citadel of Rome. Fortunately new recruits poured in from the country to man the walls. As Rome defended herself without relaxing the siege of Capua, Hannibal gave up hope of saving this city. When it fell, the Romans scourged and beheaded the senators and dispersed the people among the Latin colonies or sold them into slavery—a warning to all who meditated revolt. Tarentum was afterward taken and suffered a similar punishment.

376. The Scipios in Spain; the Battle of the Metaurus (207 B.C.).—Meantime important events were happening in Spain. For years Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, who had been left in command of that country, proved inferior to the Romans under the brothers Publius and Gnae'us Scipio. At length, however, with reinforcements from Carthage he overwhelmed and destroyed the separate armies of these two generals, who died bravely with their men. The victor was in a fair way to win all Spain back to Carthage when the Romans sent thither as proconsul¹ Publius Scipio, son of the deceased general of the same name. The new commander, though still in his twenties, showed real genius for war. Soon after his arrival he surprised and captured New Carthage, the chief

¹ An officer who held the rank and power of a consul outside of Rome (§ 364). The first proconsul was appointed in 326 B.C.

city and arsenal of the enemy in Spain. Hasdrubal, however, skilfully eluded him, and with a large army and abundant treasures set out by land for Italy to reinforce his brother.

The crisis of the war came in 207 B.C., when Hasdrubal, descending from the Alps and drawing in his train a host of Gauls and Ligurians, marched southward to meet Hannibal. If the two great enemies of Rome should unite, she could have little hope for victory; for her country was desolate from end to end; her faithful colonies, exhausted by war, were beginning to refuse aid; her last armies were in the field. Fortunately for her the messengers who bore to Hannibal the news of his brother's coming were taken by the consul Gaius Claudius Nero, commander of the army in southern Italy, opposed to Hannibal. Stealthily hurrying to the north, Claudius united his army with that of his colleague, Marcus Liv'i-us Sa-li-na'tor; and the two consuls surprised and destroyed Hasdrubal with his army on the Me-tau'rus River. As Claudius returned southward, he carried with him the head of the defeated Carthaginian, which he directed to be thrown into the camp of Hannibal, to inform him of his misfortune. In the ghastly features of his brother Hannibal read his own fate and the doom of his city.

After this battle, while Hannibal still maintained himself in southern Italy, Publius Scipio reconquered Spain. The story of this campaign abounds in the romantic adventures and the chivalrous acts of the commander—the first Roman whom we may admire both for the kindness and generosity of his character and for the brilliancy of his mind.

377. The Battle of Zama (202 B.C.); the End of the War (201 B.C.).—Master of Spain, Scipio returned to Rome, whence as consul he invaded Africa and threatened Carthage. Hannibal quitted Italy in obedience to his country's call; and, adding raw recruits to his small veteran force, he met Scipio at some distance from Za'ma, a town nearly south of Carthage. Here was fought the last battle of the long war. By a happy inspiration Scipio placed the maniples of the second and third divisions behind those of the first,

thus forming columns with open lanes between, through which the enemy's elephants could make their way without disturbing the ranks.¹ For the first time Hannibal suffered defeat in a pitched battle—a defeat which made further resistance hopeless.

By the terms of the treaty which followed, Carthage agreed to surrender Spain, and to pay Rome two hundred talents² of silver a year for fifty years; to give up all her elephants and all her warships except ten triremes; to wage no war outside of Libya, and in Libya none without the consent of Rome. With sorrow the Queen of the Waters saw her great fleet sink in flames. Even more galling was the clause of the treaty which forbade her waging war in Libya; for it left her helpless against Rome's ally, Mas-i-nis'sa, king of Numidia, who plundered Carthaginian territory to the extent of his pleasure. Such was Rome's policy toward a fallen enemy.

378. The First Macedonian War (215–205 B.C.).—Before the opening of the conflict with Hannibal, the Romans had taken a few Greek cities into their alliance.³ At this time the great power in Greece was Philip V of Macedon. Some of the Greek states he actually conquered; others submitted to his alliance through fear, or with difficulty maintained their independence. Philip resented Roman meddling within his own sphere of influence. When, therefore, news came of Hannibal's great success, he made an alliance with the victor and prepared a fleet for the purpose of landing an army in Italy. Foiled in some minor operations near home, he had to give up his ambitious plan and to use all his resources in defending himself against the Greeks, who were aided by a few thousand men from Rome. After ten years of defensive campaigning, known as the First Macedonian War, Philip sought and obtained peace (205 B.C.). Rome then entered into alliance with Aetolia, Athens, and other important states of Greece.

¹ § 349 On the usual arrangement of the maniples, see § 353.

² § 162, n. 2

³ § 338

CHAPTER XXX

THE EXPANSION OF THE ROMAN POWER FROM MOUNT TAURUS TO THE ATLANTIC

201-133 B.C.

379. The Second Macedonian War (200-196 B.C.). — The humiliation of Carthage left Rome free to devote all her energy to the overthrow of the remaining Mediterranean states in rapid succession. At the beginning she had not this end in view, but merely found in each conquest an occasion for further war. Her first conflict came with Macedon. Philip¹ used his peace with Rome mainly for recovering what he had lost in Greece. In these attempts he assailed some of Rome's allies, who thereupon despatched envoys to the senate with urgent appeals for help. The senators had long been indignant that Philip had taken the part of Hannibal and were glad of an opportunity to chastise him. They felt, too, that if this ambitious king should succeed in putting Greece beneath his feet he would not hesitate to attack Italy. Though the Romans in general were now anxious for peace, the senate forced through the centuriate² assembly a declaration of war against Macedon in behalf of the Greek allies.

Flam-i-ni'nus, the Roman commander, led against Philip a strong army of twenty-five thousand men. Though Philip had about the same number, many of his troops were boys. The whole civilized world was interested in the conflict between the legion and the phalanx. On level ground the phalanx, a massive body, was unconquerable, but among the hills it could be easily broken. The legion, on the contrary, was light and flexible, developed especially with a view to fighting the mountaineers of central Italy. At Cyn-os-ceph'a-lae ("Dogs'

Heads”), a low range of hills in Thessaly, the armies met, and after a sharp struggle the legion was victorious (197 B.C.). The success of Rome was due to her military organization, to the poor quality of the opposing troops, and above all, to the superior Aetolian cavalry in her service.

The king was compelled to cede his various Greek possessions to the victor. But as the Roman commons disliked to extend their empire to the East, the senate decided to be generous. Accordingly, at the Isthmian festival of the following spring, by the direction of Flaminius and his colleagues, who were peace commissioners, a herald proclaimed to the assembly the freedom of all the Greeks who had been ruled by Philip. “After the games were over, in the extravagance of their joy, they nearly killed Flaminius by the exhibition of their gratitude. Some wanted to look him in the face and call him their preserver; others were eager to touch his hand. Most threw garlands and fillets upon him; and among them they nearly crushed him to death.”¹ Though Flaminius wished well for the Greeks, his gift of freedom was a fair delusion. They could not keep peace among themselves—the only guarantee of their freedom. As their protector and peacemaker, Rome was constantly invited to settle their disputes; and this interference was destined soon to destroy their liberty.

380. The Asiatic War (192–189 B.C.).—Rome was soon to have trouble with the Seleucid empire.² This state had once included nearly all of Alexander’s dominion in Asia, but had greatly declined. Its satrapies east of Persia proper now belonged to the Parthian empire; and few possessions were left it in Asia Minor. Antiochus III, an aggressive Seleucid, took advantage of the Second Macedonian War to overrun all Asia Minor and to invade Thrace. After the Romans had declared the Greeks free from Philip, Antiochus with a small army entered Greece, and in his turn played the game of freeing that country from Rome. Driven from Europe, the king suffered an overwhelming defeat at Mag-ne’sia, in Asia Minor, at the hands of Lucius Scipio, brother of Africanus

¹ Polybius, xviii. 46

² § 279

(190 B.C.). As a result of this unsuccessful war, he gave up all his possessions west of Mount Taurus. Rome left the states of Asia Minor independent under her protectorate. Antiochus was stoned to death by his own people; and his great empire rapidly dwindled to the petty kingdom of Syria.¹

381. The Condition of Greece; the Third Macedonian War (171-167 B.C.).—Meantime the states of Greece constantly accused one another before the Roman senate and constantly invited that body to settle their quarrels. Accordingly, we find one committee of the senate after another coming to Greece to arbitrate disputes and to look after the interests of the republic. Even had the Greeks been able to unite their strength with the Macedonians under one government, they could not have hoped long to resist the vastly superior power of Rome. But their love of personal freedom and of complete independence for their cities was as strong as ever. It not only prevented them from uniting in defence of their common interests, but frequently stirred up jealousy and strife among the states. Though their genius was not nearly so brilliant as in the Age of Pericles, they were by no means degenerate either morally or mentally. In fact, they continued to furnish the brain and skill for all the higher activities of life throughout the civilized world. The spirit of independence, which had always been their noblest trait, was largely responsible for their political ruin. The Romans, at first their protectors, began after the second war with Philip to pose as their masters. Their respect for Greek culture did not prevent them from fostering disunion—from encouraging in all the states the growth of political factions subservient to Rome. To rid themselves of a troublesome Hellenic patriot, these "lovers of Greece" sometimes resorted even to assassination.

Such was the state of affairs when Philip died and was succeeded by his son Per'seus, who cherished the noble ambition of championing Hellas against barbarian Rome. His clever diplomacy and the desire of the Greeks for independ-

ence were rapidly bringing them into touch with Macedon, when Rome, to prevent this dreaded union, declared war against Perseus (171 B.C.).

The principal commander on the Roman side was Lucius Aemilius Pau'lus,¹ a man of rare honesty and ability. He met and conquered Perseus at Pyd'na, a city of Macedon (168 B.C.). "Aemilius had never seen a phalanx till he saw it in the army of Perseus on this occasion; and he often admitted to his friends at Rome afterward that he had never beheld anything more alarming and terrible; and yet he, as often as any man, had been not only a spectator, but an actor in many battles."² The king escaped, but was taken later, and after following, with his young children, in the triumphal procession of the conqueror, he died in prison, either by his own hand or by the cruelty of the jailer. Macedon the Romans divided into four republics, which they prohibited from all intercourse with one another. Thus a great state perished. The cities yielded to the victor shiploads of furniture, precious metals, and works of art.

382. Macedon becomes a Province (146 B.C.).—For Greece there was to be no more freedom. Those who sympathized with Perseus in the war were sent to Rome for trial. Among them were a thousand men from the Achaean League alone, including Po-lyb'i-us, the statesman and historian. Far from being given a trial, however, they were detained sixteen years among the towns of Etruria. The influence of Polybius procured the release of the three hundred who then remained.

When these exiles returned home, they excited their whole nation against the city which had treated them so unjustly. About the same time Sparta, a member of the Achaean League, seceded, and the Achaeans attempted to force it back into the union. Rome not only took the side of Sparta but also decreed the separation of certain other states from the union. Thereupon the Achaeans prepared for war with Rome. Meanwhile Macedon revolted against Rome. An army under Me-tel'lus easily suppressed the revolt. Metellus then united

¹ Son of Aemilius, who died at Cannae (§ 374)

² Polybius, xxix. 17

the four republics in the province of Mac-e-do'nia. This was the end of a kingdom which had once been the strongest in the world.

383. The End of Greek Freedom (146 B.C.).—While Metellus was in Macedon the Achaean war broke out in Corinth.



DETAIL OF A BRONZE STATUE

(Found in sea, off Cythera, Greece. Probably lost during shipment to Rome. Age, about 350 B.C. ; original or excellent copy ; National Museum, Athens)

The Spartans who chanced to be present were murdered, and some envoys from Rome narrowly escaped with their lives. In two battles the Achaeans were irretrievably beaten. The consul Mum'mi-us, who had succeeded to the command, then entered Corinth, killed most of the men he found, and enslaved the remainder of the population. After plundering the city he burned it to the ground. Shiploads of movable goods, including furniture, statues, and paintings by the great masters, were transported to Rome. The destruction of Corinth was nominally to punish the inhabitants for their violent outbreak against Rome. A stronger motive seems to have been to be rid of a commercial rival ; for Rome was now

ruled by capitalists, who, like those of Carthage,¹ sought by destroying competitors to establish for themselves a monopoly of commerce and speculation.

As was explained in an earlier chapter,² the Greeks who had proved loyal to Rome during the last war—for example, the Spartans, Athenians, and Aetolians—continued independent. All leagues among them, however, were abolished, and the right to take part in the local government was everywhere restricted to the well-to-do.³ Those who had taken part in the war were compelled likewise to give up their leagues and their democracies. They were deprived, too, of their independence and placed under the governor of Macedonia.⁴

384. The Kingdom of Pergamum and the Province of Asia (189–129 B.C.).—The protectorate which Rome had acquired over Asia Minor by treaty with Antiochus (189 B.C.)⁵ continued through the period of the Macedonian and Achaean wars. The country contained a number of native kingdoms and Greek city-states. The most important kingdom was that of Pergamum, which centred in a city of the same name not far from the Aegean coast. It had adopted the Hellenic civilization and was only less famous than Alexandria as a seat of art and of culture in general.⁶ The kings were steadfast friends of Rome. The ruling family had greatly degenerated; and the last king, Attalus III, was a weakling. At his death (133 B.C.) he bequeathed his kingdom and treasure to Rome. When the Romans attempted to take possession of their inheritance, their claim was resisted by a pretender to the throne. In 129 B.C. he was put down, whereupon the kingdom, with some neighbouring territory, became the Roman province of Asia.

385. The Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.).—In the year 146 B.C. the Romans destroyed Carthage. For the beginning of the trouble which led to this event we must go back to the

¹ § 357

² Ch. xxiii § 289

³ Such a government was a timocracy; § 101. Throughout her empire Rome followed the same policy in relation to her weaker allies and her subjects.

⁴ It was not till about 27 B.C. that all Greece south of Macedonia became a province under the name Achaia.

⁵ § 380

⁶ § 291

close of the Second Punic War. The treaty with Hannibal had forbidden Carthage, without the consent of Rome, to defend herself against attack. Taking advantage of this condition, Masinissa,¹ king of Numidia, an ally of Rome, continually plundered the territory of Carthage and seized some of her best lands. In answer to her complaints Rome sent out various commissioners, who in every case were instructed to give secret encouragement to the plunderer. As a member of such a commission, Cato, a narrow-minded statesman, of whom we shall hear more, brought home a startling report of the wealth and prosperity of Carthage. In his opinion the city of Hannibal still menaced Rome. Indeed, he is said to have ended every speech in the senate, whatever the subject, with the words, "Carthage must be destroyed". He easily convinced the capitalists, who wished for a monopoly of the world's commerce and who formed a majority of the senate. Accordingly, the consuls sailed for U'ti-ca with an immense army. To avoid war the Carthaginians were ready for every concession. First they handed over three hundred children as hostages. The mothers, who gave them up, "clung to the little ones with frantic cries and seized hold of the ships and of the officers who were taking them away".² "If you sincerely desire peace", said the consuls on their arrival at Utica, "why do you need arms? Surrender them!" After vain protests the people gave up their armour. "We congratulate you on your promptness", the consuls continued; "now yield Carthage to us, and settle wherever you like within your own land, ten miles from the sea; for we are resolved to destroy your city".

At first the people were overcome with grief; but finally they resolved to defend their city to the last drop of blood. As they had to make new weapons, they converted even the temples into workshops, and the women gave their hair for bowstrings. They gallantly repulsed the attacks of the consuls, and for three years defended themselves like heroes. At

¹ § 377

² Appian, *Foreign Wars*, viii. 77

last Scipio Ae-mil-i-a'nus¹ forced a passage through the walls. His soldiers massacred the inhabitants, then plundered and burned the city. After they had destroyed this innocent people, the authorities of Rome cursed the ground on which the city stood, that it might never be rebuilt. The territory it ruled they made into the province of Africa.

386. Ligurian and Gallic Wars.—The story of the conquest of Greece and Carthage, just told, illustrates the character of Roman warfare during the half century which followed the peace with Hannibal. Through a great part of this time war was raging in northern Italy. Incited to rebellion by Hannibal, the Gauls continued to fight long after he had fallen and all hope of success had faded away. They were desperately brave, preferring death to slavery. In alliance with them were the hardy Ligurians, who peopled the mountains on their western border. Year after year consuls were baffled and soldiers slaughtered in conflicts with these tribes. Before the middle of the century the task was completed. The spirit of these brave people was crushed. Thousands of Ligurians were transported to Samnium. To hold the rest in check, the Aurelian Way, a military road, was built from Rome along the west coast of Etruria to the Apennines.

387. The Spanish Wars (197–133 B.C.).—In the war with Hannibal Rome had wrested from Carthage her entire Spanish dominion. In 197 B.C. two provinces—Hither and Farther Spain—were made of this territory, and two praetors were sent out to govern them. But the natives resisted. The bloodiest and most desperate war Rome ever waged now began. The mountaineers were almost unconquerable. It was no uncommon thing for them to slaughter a Roman army; and when the Romans succeeded in taking a stronghold nothing was gained but barren rocks. Women fought along with the men; to prevent capture they were as ready as the men to kill their children and then themselves. Most of them carried poison, to be taken in case they fell into the enemy's hands. In 178 B.C. peace, favourable to the natives, was made.

¹ Son of Aemilius Paulus (§ 381), but adopted into the family of Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. The name Aemilianus indicates his birth in the Aemilian gens.

Fifteen years later a fresh revolt broke out, and the work of conquest began anew. Failing in arms, the Romans resorted to treachery. They violated treaties and massacred troops who had surrendered under agreement. The resistance centred in the little town of Nu-man'-ti-a. Through many years a few heroic Spaniards held out against the power of Rome. The camp of the besiegers was thronged with fortune-tellers, quacks, and all manner of disreputable persons, who led the common soldiers into the vilest life. The generals were base, treacherous, and incapable; and the senate, which directed the operations, showed an utter lack of principle in dealing with these brave enemies. After many an army had been beaten and many a Roman general had disgraced himself in the siege, Scipio Aemilianus took command. He banished all vile persons from the camp and reduced the soldiers to strict discipline. When at last he gained possession of the town, he found but fifty survivors to follow his triumphal car. All Spain was now conquered excepting a small mountainous district in the north-west.

Few colonies were planted in Spain by Rome, but during these wars thousands of soldiers from Italy, discharged at the end of campaigns or deserting the army, settled in the country, marrying Spanish wives and mingling with the natives. To these settlers is chiefly due the rapid extension of the Latin language and civilization over Spain. Less than two centuries after the fall of Numantia we find the peninsula thoroughly Romanized.

388. Summary of Acquisitions: the Provinces and the Dependent Allies (241 to about 133 B.C.).—At the close of the period we have been reviewing the Romans ruled most of the territory from Mount Taurus to the Atlantic. They had seven, possibly nine, provinces under governors sent out from the capital. These provinces, in the order of their acquisition, were (1) Sicily, acquired in 241; (2) Sardinia and Corsica, seized soon afterward and organized in the same year as Sicily, 227; (3,4) Hither and Farther Spain, acquired in the Second Punic War and organized in 197; (5) Cisalpine

Gaul, reconquered early in the second century and organized at some unknown time afterward;¹ (6) Illyricum, acquired in the third Macedonian war (167), the date of organization being unknown; (7) Macedonia, organized in 146; (8) Africa, acquired and organized in the same year; (9) Asia, acquired in 133 and organized four years later.

Among the dependent allies, often called client states,² were all those of Asia Minor outside the province of Asia. In Africa, Numidia and Egypt, with Libya, were in this condition. In Asia the kingdom of Syria possessed more freedom, but was already sinking into clientship.

It was less than a century and a half since Rome embarked on her policy of expansion beyond the borders of Italy. Within another period of equal length she was to round out her empire so as to include all the countries which surround the Mediterranean. But these two cycles of conquest were to bring with them momentous changes in the character of her government and in the condition of her citizens.

¹ Not later than 81 B.C.

² So-called because a state of this kind stood toward Rome in some such relation as a client toward his patron; § 316.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE GROWTH OF PLUTOCRACY¹

241-133 B.C.

I. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

389. Character of Roman Rule.—As long as a city-state, like Rome, remained so small that all the citizens could attend the assembly and take part in public affairs, the government worked well. But when the state outgrew these limits, the citizens who were near at hand managed the government in their own interest to the injury of those who were farther away. For this reason the more territory Rome acquired, the more unjust and oppressive became her government.

Her early supremacy in Italy was on the whole fair. Some advantages came likewise to the provinces from Roman rule. Usually they enjoyed peace. The cities of a province retained their own laws and self-government in local affairs. The less civilized subjects, too, profited greatly by adopting the customs and ideas of their masters.

In spite of these advantages their condition was anything but happy. In regulating trade Rome favoured her own citizens at the expense of the subjects. In place of native merchants, accordingly, a horde of greedy money-lenders, speculators, and traders poured from the capital over all the provinces; and while their citizenship² at Rome protected them, they unjustly acquired most of the property in the subject countries and reduced the people to debt and misery. Driving the peasants from their farms, these speculators built up vast estates worked by slaves. The system, too, which Rome fol-

¹ Government by the wealthy and for the wealthy; § 391.

² Roman citizens in the provinces enjoyed many privileges and rights not possessed by the provincials, and it was generally impossible to punish them for wrong-doing.

lowed of letting out the collection of taxes to contractors¹ was full of evil. The knights,² whose wealth enabled them to take these contracts, compelled the provincials to pay many times their due. Occasionally we find a governor, like Cato, who was perfectly upright and just and who attempted to check these wrongs.³ But generally the governor was himself cruel and oppressive. Not content with the wealth of his subjects, a greedy ruler seized their works of art, including the statues of the gods they worshipped, and even sold many freemen into slavery. The rapid change of officers increased the evil. In his short term the governor expected to make three fortunes: the first to pay the debts he had contracted in bribing his way to power; a second to satisfy his judges in case of prosecution on his return to Rome; and a third to enable him to live in luxury for the remainder of his days. Though a special court⁴ was established for the trial of extortion committed in the provinces, it accomplished no good; for the judges were of like mind with the culprits. Thieves and plunderers sat in judgment on thieves and plunderers; a year or two would reverse the role of the two parties. Thus the provincials found no protection from injustice. To them the "peace of Rome" meant slavery, decay, and death.

390. The Decline of Italy: Commercial and Agrarian Conditions.—Italy was to experience a similar decline. As long as Rome treated the Italians justly, they were satisfied with her rule. At first they sided with her against Hannibal, but after the battle of Cannae many in the south of the peninsula deserted to him.⁵ When Rome reconquered them, she treated them not as erring kinsmen, but as subjects and slaves. She seized large tracts of their land; she degraded many of them from the condition of allies to that of state serfs.

By monopolizing the trade of Italy Roman capitalists destroyed the prosperity of the towns. The great commercial cities of Capua and Tarentum disappeared; in the streets of the once prosperous Greek towns which still remained merchants gave place to beggars.

¹ § 364⁴ § 404² §§ 326, 391⁵ § 375³ § 394

The farming class suffered equally with the traders; for as Rome now drew her food supply from the provinces—the cheap produce of slave labour—the Italian peasants could find no market for their grain. Those who lost their little farms through poverty or by any other means usually flocked to Rome, to swell the numbers of a worthless, dangerous mob. The system of great estates worked by slaves spread itself over Italy. The large proprietors forcibly seized the farms of their poor neighbours. Although the peasants who did their own work failed, slave labour was as profitable in Italy as in the provinces. “Thus the nobles became enormously rich, and while the race of slaves multiplied throughout the country, the Italians dwindled in numbers and in strength, oppressed by penury, taxes, and military service.”¹ Such was the condition of Italy at the close of the great period of foreign conquest (264–133 B.C.) treated in the preceding chapter.

Had the Italians been able to secure representation in the Roman senate, they might by this means have protected their property and their freedom. Such a measure was suggested, but the senate was too selfish and short-sighted to consider it. In fact, the Romans were reversing their former policy of liberality toward strangers. So highly did they esteem the privileges and honours they enjoyed as an imperial people, that henceforth they refused to bestow the citizenship upon others, except in the rarest cases. Exalted by conquest to the position of aristocrats, even the common people looked down upon the Italians as inferiors.

391. Roman Citizens: the Populares, Optimates, and Equites.

—The competition of slave labour ruined the Roman peasants as well as the Italian. In the capital, too, skilled industry and business were in the hands of wealthy persons or of corporations of knights, who relied mainly on the labour of slaves and the business cleverness of freedmen. The many peasants and tradesmen who lost their honest livelihood turned to begging and robbery or became clients of the great nobles.

¹ Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 7

It is now easy to understand how it was that while in theory conquest was making the Roman citizens lords of the earth, it was really bringing most of them to misery and rendering them unfit even to govern themselves. In politics the masses of common citizens and their leaders were called *po-pu-la' res*.

From the end of the Second Punic War we see the nobles, *op-ti-ma'tes*, rapidly declining in character and in ability. They became a hereditary caste, consisting of a few great houses, and rarely admitted new men to their privileged circle. They kept all the higher offices for themselves and passed them in rotation among the members of their families.

A young noble, after service as an officer in the army, and perhaps after enriching himself as a provincial quaestor, secured election to a curule aedileship.¹ In this position it was his duty to entertain the people with costly religious festivals and shows, chiefly at his own expense; in this way he gained their favour and their votes for the higher offices. With this legal and pious system of corruption, he had little need of resorting to open bribery. Thence he advanced to the praetorship and to the consulship. As praetor, propraetor, or proconsul,² he governed a province, where he glutted himself with spoil and where irresponsible power made him haughty and brutal. If he won distinction in this career of honours, the people showed their appreciation by electing him to the censorship—the crown of glory of the nobility. To complete our understanding of the nobles of this period, it is necessary to bear in mind that they were capitalists, who sought office not merely for honour, but also as a means of absorbing the riches of the world. The nobility of merit became a narrow, self-seeking plutocracy. In other words, the empire now had a government by the wealthy and for the wealthy.

The nobles and other wealthy men filled the eighteen centuries of knights, *eq'ui-tes*, in the comitia centuriata. Still other men of means who might be required to furnish their own horses for service in the cavalry were also called knights.

The class so named, originally including the senators, were the capitalists, who took government contracts for collecting taxes and for building public works, and who had in hand most of the commerce and industry of the Roman world.

392. The Government: the Senate, Magistrates, and Assemblies.—The government still consisted, as in earlier times, of senate, magistrates, and assemblies. The senate, however, had gained power at the expense of both magistrates and assemblies. It was composed chiefly of men who had filled offices at home, had commanded armies, and had served on embassies to foreign states. The leading members were, therefore, trained executives, generals, and diplomatists; and having once been enrolled on the senate list by the censors, they usually held their positions for life. It is natural that in a period of conquest the senate, composed of such men, should become supreme. The magistrates, who were already senators or were looking forward to enrolment in that body, were with rare exceptions obedient to its commands. The higher magistrates have been named in the foregoing section in the order of their rank.

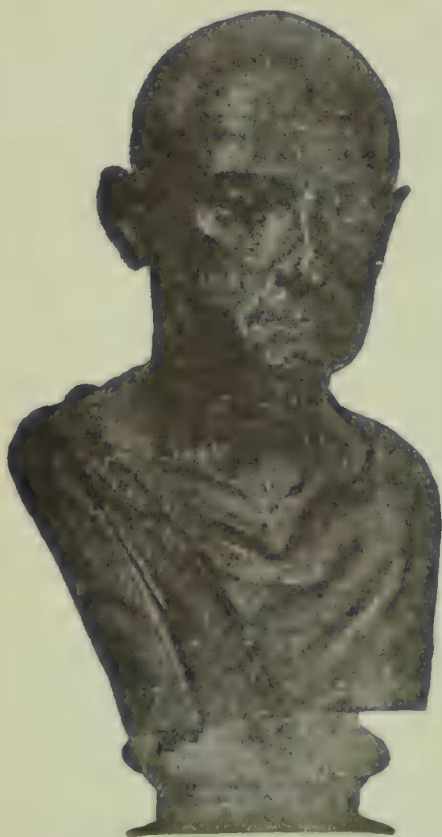
Constitutionally all citizens with full rights were permitted to attend the assemblies. In fact, these bodies were composed of those who lived in and near the city, as distance prevented most of the citizens from attending. Hence the city population, which was fast becoming a rabble, alone exercised the right to vote. Again, a member of an assembly could not propose a law or a candidate for office or speak on any subject; he could merely vote for or against the candidates and the measures offered by the presiding officer, who rarely failed to enforce his will upon the comitia. In other words, the magistrates controlled the assemblies.

In this period, as earlier, there were two principal assemblies, the tribal and the centuriate. The tribal assembly elected the quaestors, aediles, and tribunes; it ratified treaties of peace; it received appeals from the judicial decisions of magistrates in cases involving fines; and it was the chief legislative power. The centuriate assembly elected the higher

magistrates; it ratified declarations of war; it acted as the highest court of appeal in capital cases; and occasionally it passed a law. The two assemblies differed merely in organization.

II. PROMINENT ROMANS; CIVILIZATION

393. Scipio Africanus.—We are helped to an appreciation of



PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS
(Made third century A.D., doubtless from
an early original; National Museum, Naples)

Roman character by a study of prominent men. Especially worthy of mention is Scipio Africanus. The conquest of Spain and the victory at Zama made him the greatest man in Rome. For fifteen years he was foreman of the senate; he was consul twice, and censor. It was his firm conviction that Rome should not organize the conquered countries into provinces, but should organize them as dependent allies; for he saw that the need of garrisoning the provinces would soon exhaust the strength of Italy. In keeping with this principle, he planted in Italy several colonies whose military strength was to be reserved for the defence of the peninsula. Thus the chief of the nobles carried on the colonial policy of Flaminius.¹

But he had many enemies. Accustomed to absolute command in the field, at Rome he acted the king. He used his immense influence for the political advancement of his family and trampled upon the law to protect a brother from trial for embezzlement. Finally the tribunes of the plebs prosecuted

him on the ground that he had received bribes and that he had been extravagant and tyrannical. Without replying to the charges, he is said to have spoken as follows: "Tribunes of the people, and you, Romans, on the anniversary of this day, with good fortune and success, I fought a pitched battle in Africa, with Hannibal and the Carthaginians. As, therefore, it is but decent that a stop be put for this day to wrangling and litigation, I will immediately go to the Capitol, there to return my acknowledgments to Jupiter, supremely good and great, to Juno, Minerva, and other deities presiding over the Capitol and Citadel; and will give them thanks for having, on this day and at many other times, endowed me both with the will and with the ability to perform extraordinary services to the state. Such of you also, Romans, as it suits, come with me and beseech the gods that you may have commanders like myself".¹ The whole assembly followed him with enthusiasm. But though he was a man of culture, fond of literature and of luxury, his talents were chiefly military. Unable to cope with his political enemies, he retired into the country to private life.

394. Marcus Porcius Cato.—Marcus Porcius Cato, his chief antagonist, was narrow, unsympathetic, and close-fisted, but strictly moral—a model of the older Roman virtue. He was a peasant by birth and drew the inspiration of his life from the memories of Manius Curius Dentatus,² the great peasant-statesman of the good old time, whose modest cottage stood near his father's farm. Accordingly, "he worked with his slaves, in winter wearing a coarse coat without sleeves, in summer nothing but his tunic; and he used to sit at meals with them, eating the same loaf and drinking the same wine".³

By the patronage of a rich neighbour, but more by ability and honesty, this thrifty peasant rose to the highest offices of the state.

"When he was governor of Sardinia, where former rulers had been in the habit of charging their tents, bedding, and wearing apparel to the province, and likewise making it pay

¹ Livy, xxxviii. 51

² § 403

³ Plutarch, *M. Cato*, 3

large sums for their entertainment and that of their friends, he introduced an unheard-of system of economy. He charged nothing to the province, and visited the various cities without a carriage, on foot and alone, attended by one public servant, who carried his robe of state and the vessel for making libations at a sacrifice. With all this, he showed himself so affable and simple to those under his rule, so severe and inexorable in the administration of justice, and so vigilant and careful in seeing that his orders were executed, that the government of Rome was never more feared or more loved in Sardinia than when he ruled that island."¹

In his home policy he assailed with untiring energy the luxury, the refinement, and the culture represented by the Scipios; it was chiefly his influence which overthrew this powerful family. The nobles feared and hated the red-haired, gray-eyed, savage-tusked "new man", who rebuked their follies and their sins. Chosen censor in spite of their opposition, he expelled from the senate a number of disreputable members, taxed luxuries unmercifully, and administered the public works and let out the public contracts without favouritism.

395. Civilization: Literature, Religion, and Morals.—In this period education became more general. As in the preceding age, the children of the wealthy studied under the instruction of educated Greek slaves owned by the family. For the poorer classes, however, private schools were established in which small fees were charged for instruction. Both Greek and Latin were taught. A Latin literature was now coming into existence. The Romans began to compose poetry, history, and oratory. The first history of Rome in Latin was written by Cato. This work no longer exists. We have remaining a few comedies of Plau'tus and Ter'ence, who lived in this period, and mere fragments of the remaining Roman literature.²

¹ Plutarch, *M. Cato*, 6

² The most famous poets were Nae'vi-us and En'ni-us. The earliest Roman historian was Fabius Pictor, a member of the senate during the war with Hannibal. His *Annals* of Rome was written in Greek. Polybius, a Greek statesman of the age, wrote an able history on the expansion of the Roman power. Considerable parts of his work have come down to us and are very valuable.

The Romans were attracted to the useful more than to the beautiful. Their public works, as sewers, bridges, roads, and aqueducts, were the best in the world. They produced little sculpture and painting, but preferred to import shiploads of art as plunder from the cities of Sicily and Greece. With little appreciation of real beauty, the nobles took pleasure in adorning their houses and villas with stolen statues.

Along with foreign art came the ideas, the religion, and the morals of strangers. They began to worship the Greek Dionysus, or Bacchus, god of the vine and of life, including future life, and the Phrygian Cybele, Mother of the Gods, whom noisy processions honoured in the streets with drums, trumpets, and cymbals. As the native worship was cold and formal, the Romans found satisfaction in the excitement of these Eastern religions.

Morals, already declining, were corrupted by Eastern influence. The unimaginative Roman saw little beauty in Greek mythology and art, but welcomed the baser pleasures of an advanced civilization. At the same time Greek scepticism¹ unsettled his religious faith, the foundation of his moral conduct. It is not to be assumed that all the Romans were now vicious. The peasant who escaped economic ruin was still sound at heart; and even the circle of aristocrats produced the pure-minded Scipio Aemilianus and the noble, self-sacrificing spirit of the two Gracchi, who were to be the leaders of the coming age of revolution. But in the city corruption was almost universal. Crowds of beggar clients attended the noble, and voted for him in return for the loaves he doled out to them, or for the shows of buffoons, beasts, and gladiators² with which he amused them from time to time. The rending of flesh and the flow of blood gave this rabble its keenest delight. As to the higher ranks, the greed of the capitalist and the insolence of the noble, already described, were surpassed only by the impurity of their lives, while among all classes in the state and empire mutual fear and hatred lurked. This condition of affairs called loudly for reform.

¹ Cf. § 223

² § 418

396. Summary of the Growth of Plutocracy.—The political organization of Italy under Roman rule was on the whole fair and just, as it assured to the allied states protection and local self-government. The provincials, on the other hand, were subjects. They were generally protected from foreign enemies, and the more barbarous peoples among them were benefited by contact with Roman civilization. But they were oppressed by restrictions on their commerce, by Roman traders and speculators, by the tax-collectors, and by rapacious governors. Because of the provincial system Italy, too, declined. Rome began to oppress the allies. They could not compete in trade with the Roman capitalists, or in agriculture with the slave-worked estates in the provinces. The common citizens of Rome suffered in the same way as the Italians, but to a greater extent. The only persons benefited by the empire were a few great capitalists, who monopolized its business or held its lucrative offices. These new conditions changed the old aristocratic republic into a plutocracy. Meanwhile Hellenic culture, coming into Rome, was aiding the development of great and noble characters like those of the Gracchi and Scipio Aemilianus, and on the other side was fostering scepticism and vice. In all its parts the empire was beginning to show symptoms of decay.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE REVOLUTION: (I) FROM PLUTOCRACY TO MILITARY RULE

133-79 B.C.

I. THE REFORMS OF THE GRACCHI

133-121 B.C.

397. The Gracchi.—A reform of the evils described in the preceding chapter was attempted by the brothers Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. Though plebeian, they belonged to the highest nobility.¹ Their father had filled all the great offices; Cornelia, the mother, was daughter of the Scipio who conquered Hannibal. Their education, as well as their birth and connections, fitted them for a splendid career. The gifted mother taught them eloquence; Greek tutors instructed them in the philosophy and the political ideas of Hellas. Both married into noble families. When as young men they served in military and provincial offices, the allies, the dependents, and even the enemies of Rome respected and loved them for the kindness of their forefathers and for their own high character; for they had inherited a generous sympathy with the peasants, the provincials, and even the slaves.

398. The Condition of the Lower Classes.—Tiberius, who was nine years old than his brother, saw how miserable was the condition of the lower classes. As explained in the preceding chapter, a few families enjoyed nearly all the wealth of the world, including the use of the state lands,² whereas the masses were homeless. We have a quotation from a speech of Tiberius which describes their condition: "The wild beasts of Italy have their dens and holes and hiding-places, while the men who fight and die in defence of Italy enjoy indeed the air and

¹ § 338

² Cf. §§ 337, 356

light, but nothing more. Houseless and without a spot of ground to rest upon, they wander about with their wives and children, while their commanders with a lie in their mouths exhort the soldiers in battle to defend their tombs and temples against the enemy; for out of so many Romans no one has a family altar or an ancestral tomb, but they fight to maintain the wealth and luxury of others, and they die with the title of lords of the earth without possessing a single clod to call their own". Strictly, men without property were forbidden military service; but we learn from this speech that in fact armies had recently come to be largely composed of the poor and homeless.¹

399. The Agrarian Law of Tiberius Gracchus (133 B.C.).—Resolving to do all he could for the improvement of the poor, Tiberius became a tribune of the plebs for the year 133 B.C. With the approval of the consul Mu'ci-us Scaev'o-la, the most eminent jurist of the age, he proposed to re-enact the Agrarian Law of Licinius² as follows:

No one shall have the use of more than five hundred acres of the public land.

No one shall pasture more than a hundred cattle or five hundred sheep on the public land.

He added as a third clause a law passed after the time of Licinius:

Of the labourers on any farm, a certain proportion shall be freemen.

To these clauses he joined the following:

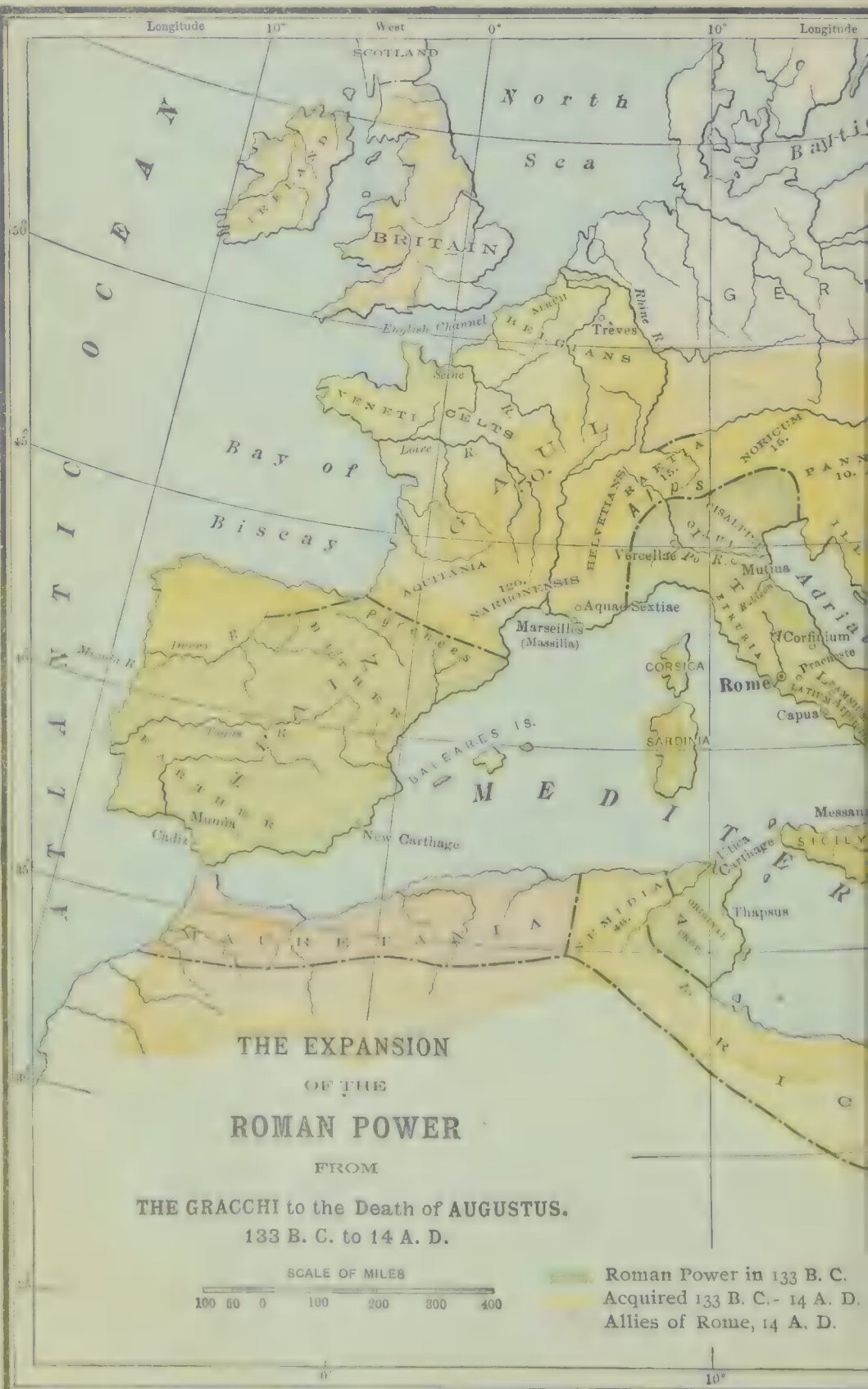
The sons—not exceeding two—of present occupiers may each hold two hundred and fifty acres of public land.

A committee of three, elected by the tribal assembly, shall divide the surplus among the needy in lots of thirty acres each.

His plan was to rescue as many families as possible from idleness and poverty and to fill the country with thrifty peasants in place of slaves. By giving the poor an opportunity to earn a living, he hoped to make them honest, useful citizens.

¹ Before the time of Marius armies thus composed were exceptional; § 407.

² § 337



THE EXPANSION
OF THE
ROMAN POWER

FROM
THE GRACCHI to the Death of AUGUSTUS.
133 B. C. to 14 A. D.

SCALE OF MILES



Roman Power in 133 B. C.
Acquired 133 B. C. - 14 A. D.
Allies of Rome, 14 A. D.



The numbers are the dates of acquisition - B. C. - unless otherwise indicated.

An equally important aim was to strengthen the army by increasing the number of citizens legally qualified to serve. But the rich, who for generations had bought, sold, and bequeathed the public land like private property, declared his bill a scheme of robbery. When, accordingly, he brought it before the assembly, they induced Octavius, a tribune, to veto it, and thus they prevented it from passing.

With the advice of Tiberius the assembly deposed the obstinate tribune. The agrarian measure then passed without opposition. It was so well carried out that after four years the census roll showed an increase of nearly eighty thousand citizens fit for military service. To stop the decline of the population and to add so many useful citizens was the work of a great patriot and statesman.

400. The Legality of the Acts of Tiberius.—The deposition of Octavius requires further examination. As no magistrate had ever been deposed before, this act involved a sweeping departure from long-established custom. Nearly all the powers acquired by the assemblies during the republic, however, had been won in a similar way. In other words, an assembly gained a new function, not through a law, but merely by assuming that function and continuing to exercise it. Constitutionally the government was a democracy and the assembly was supreme. If it wished to introduce the custom of deposing magistrates, it had the right. But since the tribunate of Flaminius, 232 B.C.,¹ it had allowed the senate to take the lead in everything. When, therefore, under Tiberius Gracchus it attempted to resume its supremacy, the senators naturally declared its conduct unconstitutional. They were unwilling to admit in practice what they had long accepted in theory. Not many years afterward, however, we find the senate accepting the new principle that a magistrate could be put out of office. Soon after the enactment of the Agrarian Law Tiberius offered himself for re-election to the tribunate—another departure from custom. The same considerations as to legality apply to this act. His continuance in office seemed to

himself and his friends to be necessary for the enforcement of the Agrarian Law and for the institution of other reforms.

401. The Death of Tiberius Gracchus (133 B.C.).—On election day his peasant supporters were busy with their harvests; and when the voting began, a crowd of senators and other opponents of the reformer dispersed the assembly. Two of the tribunes, turning traitor, killed Tiberius with clubs. Three hundred of his followers were murdered along with him, and their bodies were thrown into the Tiber. Many times during the previous history of the republic the assembly had committed acts of which the senate had heartily disapproved. Its policy had been to resist by all constitutional means the adoption of such a measure, to yield when legal means of opposition failed, and then, when the excitement of the moment had passed away, to annul the measure quietly. In the present case this course was advised by Scaevola, who as a jurist was most competent to point out the constitutional procedure. But his moderation did not satisfy the senators. The men who had voted the destruction of Corinth and Carthage and had followed a policy of treachery and cruelty in the treatment of foreign enemies, naturally resorted to mob violence for putting down a political foe. This was the first time blood was shed in a political struggle at Rome, and the leaders of the mob were senators. Added to all the other causes of popular discontent, it provoked a revolution, which was to last a hundred years. The aim of the revolutionary party opposed to the nobles was to substitute the assembly for the senate, democracy for oligarchy, in fact as well as in theory. Contrary to expectation, the revolution was to end in the overthrow of the republic.

402. The Democratic Outlook.—Some time after the murder of Tiberius, Scipio Aemilianus, the destroyer of Carthage, put a stop to the distributions of land and brought reform to a standstill.

Though depressed for a time, the democratic leaders soon regained courage. One of them proposed to give the Italians¹

¹ These were the allies whose political relation to Rome is described in § 351, and who suffered greatly through the growth of the empire; § 390.

the citizenship in order to have them as supporters of the land law. This offer the Italians would gladly have accepted had not the senate put a stop to the measure. Another leader passed a law permitting the people to re-elect a tribune in case of a lack of candidates. More important still, Gaius Gracchus was coming to the front. When the people heard him defending a friend in the law court, they were wild with delight; for they saw that other orators were mere children compared with him, and they felt that his magnificent talents were to be used in their behalf. For a time he avoided politics, but his fate called him to finish a brother's work; he dreamed that Tiberius appeared to him one night and said, "Why hesitate, Gaius? It is your destiny, as mine, to live and die for the people".

403. Gaius Gracchus Tribune (123, 122 B.C.).—He was candidate for the tribuneship for the year 123 B.C. Though the nobles opposed him all Italy gathered to his support; on election day the people overflowed the Campus Martius¹ and shouted their wishes from the housetops. When his year of office had expired, they elected him to a second term.

As his brother had failed through reliance on the peasants, who could rarely leave their work for politics, one of his first objects was to secure a faithful body of supporters such as might always be on hand. For this purpose he passed a law providing for the monthly distribution of public grain among the citizens at half the market price. As the political centre of the world, Rome had become populous. Furthermore, the ruin of agriculture throughout Italy had driven thousands of poor people into the city, where they could find little work; for Rome had few industries, but depended on imports from the provinces. The problem of living was difficult for the masses, even in times of prosperity; and recently various misfortunes had so diminished the grain supply that relief from the government seemed the only resource against impending famine. In his Corn (frumentarian) Law Gaius introduced no new principle; for the senate had often supplied the populace

¹ See map, p. 416

with cheap or free grain, and each noble supported a throng of clients. He merely detached the people from their several patrons and enlisted them in the support of his reforms. Thus he organized the army of the revolution, which even the strongest emperors could not disband. His system wrought mischief in draining the treasury and in encouraging idleness; the completion of his great reforms, however, would probably have corrected the evil.

404. Other Reforms of Gaius.—Gaius then applied himself to the economic improvement of the empire. Renewing his brother's Agrarian Law, he planned to distribute the remaining public lands among the poor. He adopted, too, the policy of establishing commercial and manufacturing colonies at Tarentum, Capua, and other places along the Italian coasts, to restore to Italy the prosperity which Roman capitalism had destroyed. Passing beyond Italy, he attempted to plant a colony near the site of Carthage. The idea of colonizing the provinces with Roman citizens was altogether new. Every colony of the kind became a centre from which the Latin language and civilization extended to the natives. In the course of centuries this process led to the grant of Roman citizenship to the provincials. For the immediate future the whole colonial policy of Gaius, as far as carried out, meant the restoration of commercial and industrial prosperity to Italy and the empire, and the dispersion of the Roman poor among the rural districts and the small towns, where they could find an opportunity to earn a living.

Shortly before the tribunate of Gaius, courts began to be established for the trial of special classes of crimes.¹ One was for the trial of cases of extortion committed by officials in Italy and the provinces; another was for the trial of murder. These courts consisted of a praetor as judge and a large jury of senators. In cases of extortion the accused officials were senators and were therefore generally acquitted, whether guilty or not, by the jury. To put an end to this abuse Gaius had a law passed which required that the jurors should be

¹ § 389

knights.¹ Through these courts the knights exercised authority over the senate itself. In a few years they, too, began to abuse their power and became perhaps even more corrupt than the senate had been. This measure of Gaius, therefore, did not prove as beneficial as he had hoped.

Gaius built roads² in Italy, and erected granaries, in which was to be stored the public grain for sale to the people at a reduced rate. He attended personally to all these undertakings. His house became the bureau of administration for the empire. "The people looked with amazement at the man himself, seeing him attended by crowds of building contractors, artisans, ambassadors, magistrates, soldiers, and learned men, to all of whom he was easy of access. While he maintained his dignity, he was affable to all, and adapted his behaviour to every individual."³ Thus he showed himself an efficient administrator as well as a great orator and reformer.

Lastly Gaius proposed to give the full Roman citizenship to the Latins, and the Latin rights to the Italians. The inhabitants of Rome, who wanted all the privileges of citizenship for their exclusive enjoyment, would have nothing to do with this measure. Angered by the proposal, they turned against him and defeated him in his candidacy for a third term as tribune. When the senate tried to prevent him from planting a colony at Carthage, both parties resorted to violence. The consul O-pim'i-us, armed by the senate with absolute power,⁴ overthrew the popular party and killed Gracchus with three thousand of his supporters. Some of these men, with Gaius, perished by mob violence; others were condemned and put to death by Opimius without trial.

405. Estimate of the Gracchi.—Tiberius Gracchus proposed and carried one great measure of reform. The aim of Gaius

¹ § 391. Those only were eligible who had public horses and voted in the eighteen equestrian centuries of the *comitia centuriata*.

² Their location is unknown.

³ Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus*, 6.

⁴ In the Second Punic War the dictatorship had fallen into disuse, to be revived some time after the Gracchi by Sulla. Meanwhile the senate found a new way of proclaiming martial law; by passing the resolution, "Let the consuls (and other magistrates) see that the state suffer no harm", it conferred upon the magistrates a power equal to that of dictator. Opimius was the first to receive this absolute authority from the senate; Cicero also held it in the conspiracy of Catiline; § 422.

was the regeneration of society. He wished to equalize the Italians as nearly as possible with the Romans, and to found agricultural colonies in Italy and the provinces, in order to provide all the needy with homes and with the means of earning an honest living. In his commercial colonies he wished to re-establish the sources of economic life which Rome had destroyed. All his other measures were means to these ends. His reforms, if completed, would have drawn the poor away from Rome, made the corn laws unnecessary, limited slavery, and rendered Italy prosperous.

To bring about these reforms he wished to make of the tribunate a ministry, like the office of general at Athens in the time of Pericles.¹ The ministers should name the candidates for the higher offices, and, with the advice of the senate, should supervise personally the whole administration of the empire. In brief, the tribunes were to become the head of the government. They were to have vast power, which was to continue from year to year as long as the people in their tribal assembly willed. The failure of the Gracchi is due to the fact that the citizens on whom they relied for support were too ignorant and selfish to uphold a broad, statesmanlike policy. They were ready to vote cheap grain and other advantages to themselves, but turned against Gaius when they found him attempting also to benefit others.

Unappreciated and betrayed, the two brothers became in death the saints and martyrs of the popular party. "The people, though humbled and depressed for a time, soon showed how deeply they felt the loss of the Gracchi. For they had statues of the two brothers made and set up in public places, and the spots on which they fell were declared sacred ground, to which the people brought all the first fruits of the seasons, and offered sacrifices there and worshipped just as at the temples of the gods."² They were right in enshrining the sons of Cornelia as the noblest characters the history of their country had brought to light.

¹ § 171

² *Plutarch, Gaius Gracchus*, 18

II. THE RESTORED SUPREMACY OF THE SENATE

121-87 B.C.

406. Gaius Marius; the Jugurthine War (111-105 B.C.).—The death of Gaius Gracchus restored the misrule of the senate. For the safety and happiness of the empire it was necessary that this corrupt nobility be permanently overthrown and a juster, abler government set up in its place. Although Gaius saw clearly what should be done, no political party would support his reforms. The work of establishing in the army a solid foundation for the new government remained for his successor, Gaius Ma'ri-us.

This man was born among the hills of Latium in a family of moderate circumstances. As a boy he learned not only to work hard but to be sober and obedient. At an early age he entered the army. As a military officer, tribune of the plebs, and afterward proprætor of Farther Spain, he showed himself honest and able. On his return from Spain he married Julia, of the patrician family of the Caesars. Soon afterward he found employment for his military genius in Numidia.

Ju-gur'tha, grandson of Masinissa,¹ after killing the rightful heirs, had himself usurped the throne of Numidia. Though the senate intervened, he bought off its embassies one after another. When Rome made war upon him, he bribed the first commander to withdraw from Africa; and by corrupting the officers of the second, he compelled the surrender of the army and sent it under the yoke. Meanwhile he had visited Rome to justify his conduct before the senate. While he was there he brought about the murder of a man who might have contested his right to the Numidian throne. After the murder he could no longer remain in Rome. While departing he is said to have exclaimed, "A city for sale and doomed to speedy ruin, if only a purchaser appears!" Such was the state of affairs when Metellus, a man of energy, took command (109 B.C.). With him went Marius as lieutenant. With the help of Marius he reduced the dissolute soldiers to order. Then he

¹ § 377

occupied a whole year in a vain attempt to conquer Jugurtha by force or to take him captive by stratagem (108 B.C.). The next year Metellus defeated him; but he soon gathered new forces and seemed stronger than ever. Then Marius, elected consul, superseded Metellus in the command. He rapidly besieged and captured one stronghold of the enemy after another and defeated Jugurtha twice in battle. Finally Lucius Cor-ne'li-us Sulla, a young aristocrat who was quaestor under him, captured Jugurtha by treachery. After gracing the triumph of Marius, the African king died in prison. With diminished territory Numidia remained a dependent kingdom. The war, with the events which preceded it, showed clearly the incompetence and the moral degradation of the senate.

407. The War with the Cimbri and the Teutones (113-101 B.C.).—The Romans had acquired a strip of territory along the southern coast of Gaul, and had made a province of it under the name Nar-bo-nen'sis (about 121 B.C.). North of this province lived the Celts, a warlike people who were divided into many independent tribes. At that time the Celts inhabited not only Gaul, but also a narrow territory north of the Alps from Gaul across southern Germany to the valley of the Danube.

About the time the Jugurthine War began, the Cimbri, a German tribe, invaded the Celtic territory north of the Alps. When the consul Carbo with an army hastened to defend some Celtic allies of Rome in that region, he was defeated by the invaders and barely escaped with his army (113 B.C.). Two years later the Cimbri crossed the Rhine, made war upon the native tribes of Gaul, and threatened Narbonensis. With them were now associated the Teutones. According to some authorities, the latter were Germans; according to others they were Celts. When the Romans came to the rescue, these barbarians overthrew four more consular armies in succession. They threatened to invade Italy, but a delay of three years gave the Romans time to prepare. Re-elected consul year after year, Marius busied himself with reorganizing and training the army. When at length the Teutones were ready

to cross the Alps into Italy, he met them at Aquæ Sextiæ in southern Gaul and annihilated their great host (102 B.C.) In like manner he and his colleague Catulus in the following year slaughtered the Cimbri at Ver-cel'lae, in northern Italy, after they had succeeded in crossing the Alps.

The army which gained these great victories had a new character. Before the time of Marius it was a militia; the men who waged Rome's wars had lands and families at home and thought of themselves as citizens. But this middle class of citizens had died out in the economic decline of Italy, and the attempt of the Gracchi to restore it had been undone by the nobles. To save the state from invasion, Marius found it necessary, therefore, to make up his army chiefly of men who owned no property. What had been illegal and exceptional he thus converted into a custom. By keeping his men long in the service and under careful training he made them professional soldiers. Such persons placed all their hopes in their commander and were ready to follow him in every undertaking, even against the government. Although Marius was himself loyal, later generals used the army to overthrow the republic. These considerations make it clear that the policy of the Gracchi had in reality been conservative; by restoring the middle class they would have saved the republic. But the undoing of their reforms made necessary the creation of a soldier class which lacked the loyalty of the citizens and which willingly aided the establishment of a military government in place of the republic.

408. The Rule of the Nobility.—The nobles, who sat in the senate and held all the higher offices, had resorted to violence and bloodshed for stopping the reform movement of the Gracchi. After the murder of Gaius they proceeded to undo the good work he had accomplished through the founding of colonies and the distribution of lands. They repealed his law for the colonization of Carthage, and then the Agrarian Law; and they made it possible for the wealthy, by purchase or by force, to gather up into their hands the small farms held by the peasants under the Agrarian Law. The distribution of

cheap grain, however, which Gaius had introduced as a temporary expedient, they continued, and they used it as a means of maintaining themselves in power. The respect in which the senate had once been held was now nearly gone; it could keep its position as head of the state in no other way than by catering to the mob. In the Jugurthine War the nobles had shown themselves worthless and corrupt; afterward the rise of a man from the common people had alone saved the country from barbarian invasion. While outwardly the supremacy of the nobles seemed to be fully restored, a revolutionary undercurrent, in Rome and among the Latins and Italians, was rapidly gaining volume; in time it was to overwhelm the senate and the republic itself.

409. Marius, Saturninus, and Glaucia (100 B.C.). — In his sixth consulship (100 B.C.) Marius allied himself with Saturninus, a tribune, and Glaucia, a praetor, to pass a law for planting colonies of his veterans in the provinces. These two men, though violent in their methods, were aiming to carry out the reforms of the Gracchi; they represented the peasants in opposition to the city rabble, which now supported the senate. With their armed followers Saturninus and Glaucia forced the measure through the assembly of tribes. Soon afterward another riot broke out between the rabble and the peasants. Then the senators and the knights called upon Marius as chief magistrate to put down the sedition. Reluctantly he armed some of his forces to defend the constitution against Saturninus and Glaucia, his former associates. After some time they surrendered; and though their enemies demanded their death, "he placed them in the senate-house with the intention of treating them in a more legal manner. The mob considered this a mere pretext. It tore the tiles off the roof and stoned them to death, including a quaestor, a tribune, and a praetor, who were still wearing their insignia of office".¹

In casting in his lot with the nobles, who were his enemies, rather than with his friends, the reformers, Marius made a grave mistake. Far better would it have been for the Roman

¹ Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 32

world had he seized the opportunity to make himself master of the state and to use his military power, if necessary, in carrying out the most needful reforms. But lacking political wisdom he failed to grasp the situation. In fact, too great success was undermining his hardy peasant character. He missed his destiny; and the fate of Rome passed into other hands.

410. Drusus (91 B.C.).—The senate now found itself surrounded by enemies; the knights, the mob, and the peasants were all openly or secretly hostile. At the same time the oppressed Italians were on the point of rebellion. These conditions led some of the more liberal aristocrats to think of winning the support of the Italians by granting them the citizenship. The leader of this movement, Marcus Livius Dru'sus, a young man of great wealth and illustrious family, became a tribune of the plebs in 91 B.C. His proposal for the enfranchisement of the Italians passed the assembly but was annulled by the senate; and soon afterward Drusus was murdered. A law was then passed which threatened with prosecution any one who dared aid the Italians in acquiring the citizenship.

411. The Social War (90–88 B.C.).—The death of Drusus and the passing of this act deprived the Italians of their last hope of obtaining their rights by peaceable means. It was not that they wished to vote at Rome; for most of them lived too far away for the exercise of that function. But they needed the protection which citizenship gave; their soldiers desired humane treatment at the hands of the commanders; in the affairs of peace they asked for the same rights of property and of trade which the Romans had always enjoyed; but most of all they desired Roman officials and private citizens to cease insulting, scourging, and killing them for amusement or spite. So much citizenship would have meant to them.

Accordingly, in 90 B.C., the allies, chiefly those of Sabellian race, revolted and founded a new state. As their capital they selected Cor-fin'i-um. In the main they patterned their gov-

ernment after that of Rome; they gave the citizenship to all who took part with them in the war for freedom; and they aimed to annex the whole of Italy. The struggle which now began between Rome and her allies (*socii*)¹ is called the Social War. As the opposing forces were divided into several small armies, the military operations were intricate. Though fighting against great odds, the Italians were so successful the first year that, near its close, Rome felt compelled to make sure of those who were still faithful by giving them the citizenship. Soon afterward the same reward was extended to those who would return to their allegiance. These concessions not only prevented the revolt from extending, but so weakened it that, in another year, the Romans broke the strength of the allies.

In addition to local self-government in their own towns (*municipia*),² the Italians now possessed the Roman citizenship. At last the whole Italian nation south of the Rubicon River was organized in one great state. But the new citizens were degraded by being enrolled in eight new tribes, which voted after the old thirty-five. Dissatisfied with their condition, the Italians still looked upon the senate and the city rabble as their oppressors, and they were ready, therefore, to welcome the strong man who as absolute master should make these enemies his footstool. Hence the idea of monarchy grew apace.

412. Marius and Sulla.—Accordingly, politics took a new turn; the questions of the future were, who was to be the man of power, and how much authority was he to snatch from the senate. The first conflict came between the veteran Marius, and Sulla, his quaestor of the Jugurthine War. The latter, patrician though poor, was endowed with a remarkable talent for war, diplomacy, and politics. "His eyes were an uncommonly pure and piercing blue, which the colour of his face rendered still more terrible, as it was spotted with rough, red blotches interspersed with white, . . . a mulberry be-

sprinkled with meal."¹ Success as a general in the Social War brought him the consulship in 88 B.C.

In this year it was necessary for Rome to send an army against Mith-ri-da'tes,² the powerful king of Pontus, who was threatening Rome's possessions in the East. Ordinarily, so important a command was given by the senate to a consul, who, after the expiration of the year, continued in duty under the title of proconsul. In this case the conduct of the war was intrusted to Sulla as consul. A vote of the assembly, however, gave the command to Marius. In a conflict of this kind the assembly, embodying the sovereignty of the people, had the superior constitutional right. But Sulla led his army to Rome and settled the question with the sword. Marius escaped to Africa. This was the first time the army appeared in politics—a critical moment in the history of the republic. We are to bear in mind that the revolution begun by the Gracchi still went on; its leaders, however, were no longer tribunes, but generals. After restoring the authority of the senate and giving it complete power over the tribunes, Sulla proceeded with his army to the war against Mithridates.

III. THE OVERTHROW AND RESTORATION OF SENATORIAL RULE

87-79 B.C.

413. The Revolution of Marius (87 B.C.); the Rule of Cinna (87-84 B.C.).—No sooner had Sulla left Italy than an armed conflict broke out between the consuls, Octavius and Cinna, over the enrolment of the Italians in the old tribes. In this struggle ten thousand men lost their lives. Octavius, leader of the aristocracy, drove Cinna, champion of the Italians, from the city. The senate deposed the popular leader from the consulship. But Cinna quickly gathered an army of Italians, recalled Marius from banishment, and following the example of Sulla, marched against Rome. Marius returned from an exile which had been to him a series of adventures and of hairbreadth escapes. In his old age the greatness of

¹ Plutarch, *Sulla*, 2

² § 414

his character had changed to rabid fury against the aristocrats. "Filthy and long-haired, he marched through the towns, presenting a pitiable appearance, descanting on his battles, on his victories over the Cimbri, and his six consulships",¹ and with grim determination promised the Italians their rights. The two revolutionary leaders entered the city with their bands of Italians, foreigners, and runaway slaves. They killed Octavius and all the eminent aristocrats; for five days they hunted down their opponents, massacred them, and plundered their property. They gave the Italians their rights. Marius received his seventh consulship, but died soon afterward.

While condemning the bloody policy of Marius, we should not forget that the nobles, by murdering the followers of the Gracchi, by opposing every peaceful attempt at reform, and by their greed and tyranny, brought this terrible punishment upon themselves.

The revolution, here described, again overthrew the senate and placed the democratic party at the head of the government. Its leader, Cinna, re-elected to the consulship year after year, continued in power till 84 B.C. In all this time he attempted no reform, but showed himself as incompetent as the nobles had been. Finally, while preparing to oppose the return of Sulla from Asia, he was killed by some of his soldiers in a mutiny.

414. The First Mithridatic War (88-84 B.C.).—At the close of the Asiatic War in 189 B.C., as has been explained above,² Rome established a protectorate over Asia Minor. Among the small kingdoms coming thus into dependent alliance with Rome was Pontus, a country on the south shore of the Black Sea. About the time when the senate began to have trouble with Jugurtha, the throne of Pontus came to be filled by a young man who was to prove a dangerous enemy to Rome. This was Mithridates VI, often styled the Great. He was a man of gigantic strength, attractive personality, and brilliant genius. A genuine Oriental polished by Greek education, he

¹ Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 67

² § 380

remained, in spite of many heroic traits, cunning, unscrupulous, and brutal. Taking advantage of Rome's troubles with Jugurtha, and afterward with her allies, Mithridates rapidly extended his power through conquests and alliances. First he brought under his control nearly all the north coast of the Black Sea. When, however, he began to annex the other kingdoms of Asia Minor, Rome, their protector, intervened, and war began (88 B.C.). Mithridates soon made himself master of Asia Minor, including the Roman province of Asia. In this province, by an order of the king, all the Italian residents, men, women, and children, to the number of perhaps a hundred thousand, were massacred on an appointed day. Afterward he crossed with an army to Greece, whose inhabitants welcomed him as a deliverer from Roman oppression. At this time Rome was threatened with the loss of all her possessions east of the Adriatic. But the massacre of Italians in Asia roused the whole body of her citizens to the necessity of immediate action.

On taking command, Sulla hastened to Greece with five legions. The capture of Athens by siege, and two victories over the enemy in battle, drove the king's forces from Europe. Meanwhile Asia Minor was disaffected by the king's cruelties. He was forced to make peace and to give up all the conquests he had made at the expense of Rome and her allies, including the kingdoms of Bithynia and Cap-pa-do'ci-a. But no one could doubt that he would break the treaty as soon as an opportunity offered itself.

415. The First Civil War (84-82 B.C.).—After patching up this hasty treaty, Sulla returned to Italy with a victorious army devoted to him. The democrats, now in power, resisted his return, and a civil war broke out between them and Sulla. Their principal leaders were Carbo and Marius. The latter was a son of the famous Marius. These men were supported chiefly by the Samnites and the Lucanians, who had taken part in the Social War and had not yet submitted. The details of the war need not be described here. The decisive battle was fought outside the Col'line Gate at Rome. In a fierce

struggle Sulla crushed his enemies. Thousands of prisoners taken in this battle were massacred in cold blood. Carbo had already fled to Africa. Marius had long been besieged at Praeneste. When his men were forced to yield, Marius died by his own hand, and the surviving garrison was massacred. Soon all Italy lay prostrate at the feet of the conqueror. The brave Samnites were nearly exterminated. By the wholesale destruction of property and life the Social and Civil Wars nearly completed the ruin of Italy, which had long been declining in wealth and population.

416. Sulla in Power (82-79 B.C.) ; his Constitution.—When Sulla had made himself master of the government, he proceeded with reckless butchery to destroy the opponents of his party. Day by day he posted a list of his victims ("the proscribed"), whom any one might slay and receive therefor a reward. The goods of the proscribed were confiscated, and their children disfranchised. The number of persons thus murdered at Rome amounted to nearly five thousand, including senators and knights. Many were the victims of private hatred, and many more were killed for the sake of their wealth. At the same time murder and confiscation were carried on over all Italy. No one dared shelter a victim, not even children their parents. This Satanic law, while branding kindness and affection as criminal, placed a premium upon malice, greed, and murder.

After a time Sulla assumed the dictatorship, an office long disused, and put his hand to the work of restoring the aristocratic constitution. As many senators had perished through war and proscription, he permitted the tribes to elect new members from his partisans. The whole number of senators was to be six hundred. This remained the normal number till it was further increased by Caesar. Another law ordered that no measure should be brought before any assembly without the consent of the senate. This statute, a repeal of the Hortensian Law of 287 B.C.,¹ gave the senate the complete control of legislation which it had enjoyed during the early re-

¹ § 339

public. Next he enacted that no one who had held the plebeian tribunate should be eligible to a higher office. By these measures and others of a similar character, Sulla attempted to set the government of Rome back to the condition it was in more than two hundred years earlier. These arrangements, however, lasted only ten years. His other changes were more useful, and hence more lasting. He increased the number of quaestors to twenty and made this office a regular stepping-stone to the senate. Eight were to be employed in Rome and twelve in the financial administration of the provinces. Instead of six praetors, there were now to be eight. The object of this increase was to provide judges for the criminal courts.¹ There were to be seven of these courts, each charged with jurisdiction over a particular class of crimes. Each court continued to be made up of a praetor as judge and a large body of jurors. Gaius Gracchus had enacted that knights only could be jurors²; but Sulla repealed his law and composed the juries of senators only, just as they had been before Gaius. After ten years this measure was amended. A man had to be a quaestor before he could be praetor, and praetor before consul, and he was not permitted to accept the same office within ten years. The praetors and the consuls could hold military commands only in exceptional cases; their authority, wholly civil, was limited to Italy south of the Rubicon. But on the expiration of their office, they became promagistrates with military authority for an additional year in the provinces. These laws with the exceptions mentioned, remained a permanent part of the constitution.

When Sulla had completed these arrangements, he retired into private life. Soon afterward he died, and was buried with pomp and splendour such as nations rarely display even in honour of their kings. He was not yet in his grave when his government began to totter.

¹ §§ 339, 404

² § 404

CHAPTER XXXIII

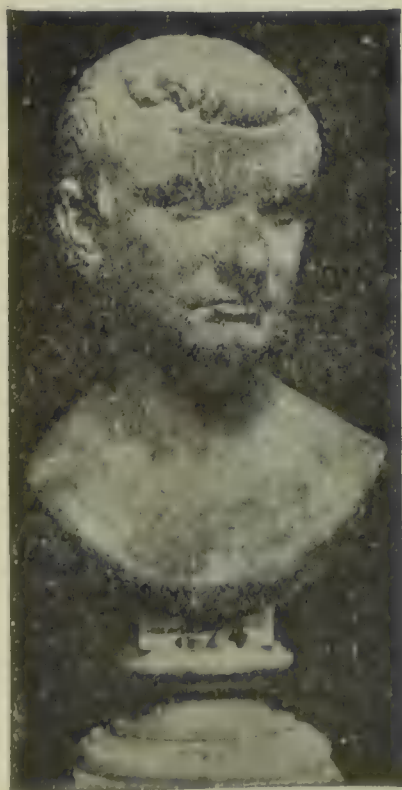
THE REVOLUTION: (II) THE MILITARY POWER IN CONFLICT WITH THE REPUBLIC

79-31 B.C.

I. POMPEY, CICERO, AND CAESAR

79-44 B.C.

417. Pompey (to 70 B.C.).—Sulla was the first to enforce his will upon the state by means of the army. After his time the political power fell more and more into the hands of the generals.



"POMPEY THE GREAT"
(National Museum, Naples)

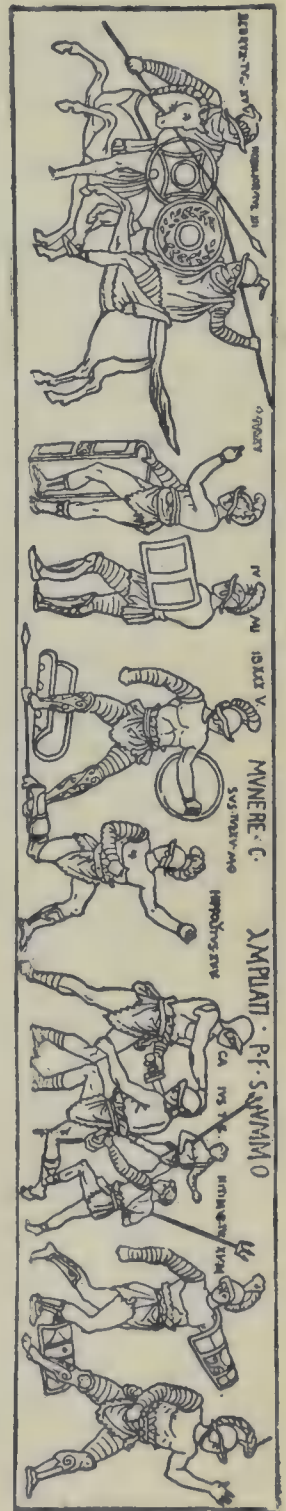
Among the rising officers of the army Gnaeus Pompey was most fitted to be the heir of Sulla's policy. While still a young man he had joined in the civil war upon the democrats and had shown himself so able an officer that Sulla hailed him as "the Great". After the death of his patron, Pompey proved himself still further a champion of the nobility by helping to put down a democratic rebellion against the government. A good general was now needed in Spain, and the senate, according to Sulla's arrangements, should have sent thither as proconsul a man who had already been consul. But as it could find no able person with this qualification, it gave the proconsulship to Pompey, who had not

filled even the office of quaestor.

Ser-to'ri-us, a democratic leader, had gone as governor to Spain in the time of the civil war. Regarding Sulla as a usurper, he claimed to represent the true government of Rome. He was perhaps the first Roman to sympathize thoroughly with the governed, to make their interests his chief care, and to give them the genuine benefits of Latin civilization. With the small forces at his command he routed the Roman armies sent against him, including that of Pompey. Not till Sertorius was murdered by one of his own generals did Pompey succeed in putting an end to the war (76 B.C.).

418. The War with Spartacus (73-71 B.C.).—Not long after the close of the war in Spain Rome had a great danger to meet at home. The new enemy was Spar'ta-cus, a gladiator. Gladiators were persons who fought with swords or other weapons for the amusement of the people. Exhibitions of the kind originated in Etruria in connection with funeral festivals, and Rome had introduced them from that country. At first they were given rarely and by private persons only; but before the time of Pompey it had become customary for the magistrates to entertain the voters with this brutal and debasing sport. At Capua was a school in which slaves were trained as gladiators. A Thracian by birth and a brave, intelligent soldier, Spar-

COMBATS OF GLADIATORS
(Pompeian relief; British Museum)



tacus had been taken prisoner, sold as a slave, and sent to the training school. With a few of his comrades he struck down the guards and made his escape to Mount Vesuvius. Slaves, criminals, and discontented persons of every class flocked to his side, till he had under command an army of more than a hundred thousand men. For two years he defeated Roman armies led by praetors and consuls. Then the praetor, Marcus Licinius Cras'sus, with eight legions, defeated and killed him and dispersed his army. At the last moment Cras-sus was slightly aided by Pompey, who had just returned from Spain.

419. Pompey as Consul (70 B.C.); as Commander against the Pirates (67 B.C.).—These two generals were eager for the consulship; and as the senate hesitated on the ground that Pompey had not yet been quaestor or praetor, they turned for support to the people, promising them the repeal of Sulla's laws. Elected consuls in 70 B.C., they restored the power of the tribunes and took from the senate the authority Sulla had given it. Thus the aristocratic government, after standing but ten years, was overthrown by the man its founder had styled "the Great". This was a victory, not so much of the democracy as of the army; for the tribunes when restored began to attach themselves to the service of the great military leaders.

For some years pirates had been swarming over the whole Mediterranean Sea. They seized cities, captured Roman nobles, whom they held for ransom, and, by cutting off the grain supply, they threatened Rome with famine. As the senate seemed powerless to check the evil, Ga-bin'i-us, a tribune, proposed to give Pompey for three years absolute command of the Mediterranean, together with a strip of its coast, fifty miles wide, as far as the Roman empire extended. He was to have a vast number of ships and men and a large sum of money. Though the senate opposed the law because it gave so much power to one man, the people carried it with enthusiasm. Within forty days after his armament was ready Pompey cleared the sea of pirates. He destroyed their hive

in Cilicia and made of that country a Roman province.

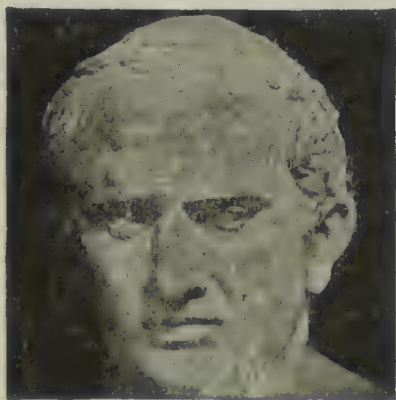
420. The Second and Third Wars with Mithridates (83–82, 74–63 B.C.).—After Sulla had made peace with Mithridates,¹ 84 B.C., his successor to the command in the East provoked the king of Pontus to a second war. Peace was soon restored by order of Sulla.

While Rome was fighting Sertorius in Spain, Mithridates made ready for a new war. He allied himself with the powerful king of Armenia and won to his support the barbarian tribes along the northern coast of the Black Sea. In 74 B.C. the king of Bithynia died, leaving his realm as a legacy to Rome. It was at once made a province. This event provoked the king of Pontus to war, as he himself coveted that territory. Mithridates commanded a powerful fleet and army, but opposed to him was the consul Lucius Lucullus, a remarkably skilful general, at the head of five legions. Lucullus first expelled the enemy's forces from the provinces of Asia and Bithynia, and then invaded Pontus. With little fighting he drove Mithridates from his kingdom. The fugitive took refuge with his son-in-law Ti-granes, king of Armenia.

With a few troops Lucullus marched boldly into Armenia and defeated a greatly superior force of Tigranes. He might have conquered the kingdom, but his troops mutinied and compelled him to retreat. Mithridates returned to Pontus, and Lucullus lost nearly all the territory he had gained (66 B.C.).

421. Pompey in the East (66–62 B.C.); **End of the Third War with Mithridates.**—Had the Romans supported Lucullus he would doubtless soon have overthrown Mithridates. But many thought Pompey the only man able to conquer this great enemy. The tribune Manilius, accordingly, carried a law which gave the command in the East to Pompey in addition to the power he already had. He easily drove the king from Pontus, the most of which he joined to the new province of Bithynia. Mithridates was afterward killed, at his own request, by a Gallic mercenary.

Pompey then invaded Armenia and received the submission of Tigranes. The latter had conquered Syria and other neighbouring countries, but was now obliged to give up everything outside his native kingdom. In 64 B.C. Pompey entered Syria and made a province of it. This was the end of the Seleucid empire. As the Jews were unwilling to submit, he besieged Jerusalem, and after three months took it while the inhabitants were keeping the Sabbath. In the temple he intruded within



CICERO
(Vatican Museum, Rome)

the "Holy of Holies", a shrine which none but the high priest could enter. But he left the temple unpillaged, and in other ways he respected the native religion. Jerusalem retained its self-government under a high priest who was friendly to Rome.

Pompey attended conscientiously to the organization of the East. The new provinces thus far mentioned were Cilicia, Bithynia, and Syria. Crete, too, became a province. A few small kingdoms remained in and about Asia Minor; their rulers, though allies in name, were really vassals of Rome. With the great Parthian empire beyond the Euphrates he made a treaty of friendship. These arrangements were all admirable. With her dependent allies and her provinces, Rome now occupied the entire circuit of the Mediterranean.

422. The Conspiracy of Catiline (63 B.C.).—In the absence of Pompey important events were taking place at Rome. Cic'ë-ro became consul in 63 B.C. Though he was from a municipium¹ and a man of moderate means, his brilliant oratory and administrative ability won for him the highest offices at Rome. In his consulship a conspiracy, which for some time had been forming on a vast scale, threatened to destroy the government.

¹ § 350. Though the members of municipia were Roman citizens, the inhabitants of the capital usually looked upon them as inferior.

The leader, Lucius Cat'i-line, was a man of high birth and of splendid talents, but vicious and depraved. He drew to himself the most desperate men in Italy, including all who wished a renewal of civil war and massacres, as well as debtors, gamblers, and assassins. While the head of the conspiracy was at Rome, its members extended throughout the peninsula. When these anarchists had their plans well laid for killing the magistrates and the nobles and for seizing the government, the vigilant consul discovered their plot and denounced Catiline before the senate. The arch-conspirator fled to the army he had been preparing in Etruria, where he was soon afterward defeated and killed. Cicero arrested a few of Catiline's chief associates who remained in the city. They were condemned by the senate, and the consul put them to death.¹

His success in saving the state made Cicero for a time the most eminent man in Rome. The people saluted him Father of his Country; and though he was a "new man",² the senators recognized him as their leader. He was strongly attached to the republican form of government; but the forces opposed to him were overwhelming. Such in fact had become the condition of public affairs that the statesman, however grand, appears strangely dwarfed and out of place; for the age of generals had come; they were the only strong men and managed the politicians as their puppets. It was in vain, therefore, that Cicero hoped to make Pompey a defender of the republican constitution.

423. The First Triumvirate—Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus (60 B.C.).—All were anxiously awaiting the return of Pompey from the East. While both nobles and democrats claimed him, some feared he might overthrow the government and make himself dictator by means of his army, as Sulla had done. But his belief that his influence alone would bring him all the honour and power he needed led him to disband his army and come to Rome as a private citizen. He was bitterly disap-

¹ Cicero had received from the senate absolute power to deal with the conspirators (§ 404, n. 2), but preferred to make the senate responsible for their punishment. The popular party, however, denied the right of the senate to act as a court in such a case, and asserted accordingly that Cicero had put these men to death without a trial.

² § 337

pointed. The senate, which had always distrusted him, hesitated to sanction his arrangements in the East. The great general found himself as helpless in politics as Marius had been.

It happened, however, that two eminent politicians needed his aid. One was Crassus, whose great wealth gave him influence. The other was Gaius Ju'li-us Cae'sar. This young man, though a patrician, was leader of the democratic party. He, as well as Crassus, desired a military command like that which Pompey had held. Seeing Pompey cast off by the senate, they came to him with a proposal that they three should act together for their common interests. This union of the three men, though unofficial, is called the First Tri-um'vi-rate. Pompey contributed to it his military fame, Crassus the influence of his wealth, and Caesar his popularity and his commanding intelligence. According to agreement, Caesar received the consulship in 59 B.C., and in return secured from the people the ratification of Pompey's Eastern arrangements. As the tool of the triumvirs, or at least under their protection, the tribune Clo'di-us carried a decree for the banishment of Cicero, on the ground that in his consulship he had put citizens to death without a trial.¹ The people soon recalled him, however, and restored him to honour.

424. Caesar Proconsul of Gaul (58-50 B.C.).—At the close of his term, Caesar as proconsul received for five years the government of Cisalpine Gaul, Narbonensis, and Illyricum. He now held the kind of position for which he had long been striving; it would give him an army through which he might make himself the greatest power in the state. Before the end of his period of government the triumvirs renewed their alliance. Caesar was to have five more years of command in Gaul; Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls in 55 B.C. and afterward to take charge of some of the best provinces in the empire. In this way these men divided among them the Roman world.

¹ § 404, n. 1

425. The Condition of Gaul.—Mention has been made of the Roman province of Narbonensis on the south-eastern coast of Gaul and of the free Gauls north of the province.¹ Gaul was a great fertile country, which supported a dense population. Most of their civilization they got from the Greek city of Massilia² on the coast. Though inferior to the Romans in culture, they made their living chiefly by farming, and they had many strongly fortified towns. The principal divisions were the Aq-ui-ta'ni-ans in the south, an Iberian³ people with a slight mixture of Celts, the purer Celts in the centre, and in the north the Belgians, who were Celts mixed with Germans. The Aquitanians were the most civilized, the Bel'gi-ans the most barbarous and warlike. Each of these three groups comprised several independent tribes.

East of the Rhine were the barbarous, half-nomadic Germans. A crisis in Rome's relation with these Northern peoples was now at hand, like that with which Marius had successfully grappled. A powerful German tribe under the chieftain A-ri-o-vis'tus had crossed the Rhine and had seized some lands of the Gauls. This movement was but the beginning of a German migration, which, if unchecked, would have thrown Gaul into commotion and might have brought both German and Celtic hordes into Narbonensis, and even into Italy. A more direct menace to Rome came from the Hel-ve'ti-ans, a great Celtic tribe of the Alps, who were abandoning their home in the mountains for the broader and more fertile lands of southern Gaul.

426. The Conquest of Gaul (58-50 B.C.).—Caesar, who at this time had had little experience in command, thus found himself confronted by enormous difficulties and dangers. But the ease with which he overcame everything in his way marked him at once as a great master of the art of war. With wonderful rapidity he gathered his widely scattered forces, enrolled new legions, and inspired his raw recruits with the

¹ § 407

² § 81. The Greek form of the name is Massalia, the Latin form Massilia, and the modern form Marseilles.

³ Of the same race as the natives of Spain (ancient name, Iberia)

courage and devotion of veterans. He immediately defeated the Helvetians with great slaughter and drove the remnant of their host back to their former home. In the same summer he won a great victory over the Germans and compelled them to recross the Rhine. In the following year, as the Belgians threatened to give him trouble, he resolved to subdue them. In the invasion of their country he met little opposition till he came to the Ner'vi-i, the most warlike and the most powerful



ROMAN SOLDIERS MARCHING

(From Schreiber, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*)

of the Belgic tribes. These people would have no dealings with Roman traders in wine and other luxuries, for they wished to keep their strength intact and their martial fire alive. While Caesar was approaching, they fell upon him so fiercely that he could neither form his line nor give orders. Each soldier was left to his own judgment. But the cool courage of the legionaries and the heroism of the commander won the desperate fight. Few Nervii survived. As a result of the campaign all northern Gaul submitted. Next year he

attacked the Ven'e-ti, who occupied a strip of the western coast. A maritime people, they built their towns on headlands protected on all sides by tide-waters too shallow for Roman ships. They themselves put to sea in clumsy flat-bottomed boats with leathern sails. Caesar made little progress against them till his small, light fleet met their bulky navy in the open sea. A happy thought occurred to the Romans. With scythes fastened to long poles they cut the enemy's tackle so as to disable his ships. Victory was then easy; the Veneti with their allies submitted.

In the remaining years of his command Caesar drove back another horde of Germans; to check their inroads he twice invaded their country. As the Britons, who were largely Celtic, came to the aid of their kinsmen in Gaul, Caesar found it necessary to attack them in their own home in order to make them stop sending aid to his enemies. Crossing the channel in 55 B.C., he landed in Britain. He found no difficulty in defeating an army of natives; but with his small force he could accomplish nothing more. Next year he landed with a larger army, marched into the interior, and received the submission of several tribes. But the country was poor and the booty scant. The Britons gave hostages and promised tribute. With these results Caesar left the island. His two invasions did nothing more than prepare the way for the future conquest of Britain.

Several more years were needed for completing the conquest of Gaul. It was necessary, too, to crush fierce rebellions among the new subjects; not till 50 B.C. was the work of pacification completed.

427. Organization and Romanization of Gaul.—Although Caesar's conquest spread desolation and death over the entire country, in the end his just and humane settlement of affairs attached the subjects loyally to him. All Gaul, at first under one governor, was divided by Augustus into four provinces. The three new provinces were Aquitania in the south, Lug-dunensis (Lyons) in the centre, and Bel'gi-ca in the north. The Gauls retained a large degree of self-government and many

of their national institutions. The more warlike spirits enlisted in the Roman armies, the rest of the population devoted itself to cattle-breeding and agriculture. Gold and silver mines were opened. Few Roman colonies were planted in the new provinces, but swarms of Italians went there for trade. The natives opened schools, in which the Latin language and literature were studied with great zeal and success. In course of time better Latin came to be spoken in Gaul than in Rome. The process of Romanization was aided by the chain of military settlements established along the Rhine for the defence of the frontier against the Germans. Naturally civilization took its deepest hold along this line and in the south of the country.

Gaul was a great source of strength to Rome in soldiers, in food supplies, and in taxes. It helped to protect the Rhine frontier from the barbarous Germans. The conquest began a new policy—the opening up of north-western and central Europe to Roman civilization.

428. The End of Crassus (53 B.C.) ; Pompey and Caesar clash.—Meanwhile Crassus took command in Syria, his province. He was defeated and killed by the Parthians, whom he had needlessly provoked to war. Pompey, instead of going to his provinces in Spain and Africa as the law directed, remained near Rome to help the senate to preserve order. The nobles now looked to him for protection from the mighty governor of Gaul, who represented the people.

These two leaders ceased to be friends. Then, in 49 B.C., the senate ordered Caesar to lay down his command on pain of being declared a public enemy. When the tribunes, Mark Antony and Quintus Cassius, vetoed this decree, they were harshly treated, and fled thereupon to Caesar's camp. The mistreatment of the tribunes gave him a pretext for bringing his army to Rome to protect the sacred office.¹

429. Second Civil War (49–45 B.C.).—The story is told that at the Rubicon, which separated his province from Italy, Caesar hesitated while he discussed with his friends the con-

sequences of crossing, like an invader, into Italy and of thus making himself an enemy to his country; then exclaiming, "The die is cast!" he hurried over the river, and with a trumpet summoned his troops to follow. Although the anecdote may not be true, the crossing of the Rubicon was a crisis in the life of Caesar and in the history of his country; for by bringing his army into Italy in violation of the law, he began a war upon the republic.

Pompey, with the consuls and many senators, retired to the East, where he expected his great influence to bring him abundance of supporters and of resources for war. Caesar immediately secured control of Italy and Spain. His gentleness to opponents and his moderation in relieving distressed debtors and in protecting property won the hearts of all quiet citizens, and made even many followers of Pompey suspect that they had taken the wrong side. After setting up a government at Rome, Caesar crossed to Greece and met his rival at Phar-sa'lus, in Thessaly. Although in appearance Pompey championed the senate, the real question at issue was which of the two commanders should rule the Roman world. Pompey's army outnumbered the enemy; but the mental resources of Caesar, together with the superior manliness of the troops from western Europe, won the day. Pompey fled to Egypt. When Caesar reached Alexandria in pursuit, a would-be friend brought him the head of his murdered rival. It was no welcome gift to the noble victor.

In Egypt King Ptolemy had deposed his sister Cle-o-pa'tra. But Caesar, siding with the charming queen, established her as sole monarch. Then, while passing through Syria and Asia Minor, he settled the affairs of the provinces, and in one battle crushed Phar'-na-ces, son and successor of Mithridates, thus putting an end to a dangerous enemy. After the victory he sent to Rome this brief despatch, "*Veni, vidi, vici*" (I came, I saw, I conquered). Another year he defeated the senatorial army at Thap'sus in Africa. One of the aristocratic commanders in that region was Cato—honest, loyal, and stubborn, yet narrow-minded, as had been his great-grandfather, the

famous censor.¹ In despair of the republic he killed himself. Soon afterward the victory at Mun'da in Spain destroyed the last opposition to Caesar (45 B.C.).

430. The Condition of the Roman World.—In the time of Caesar the Roman empire extended from the Euphrates River to the Atlantic Ocean, and included all the countries which bordered on the Mediterranean Sea. It consisted of a multitude of states, whose condition ranged from complete subjection upward through every grade of dependent alliance. Within this territory were many nationalities and languages, and many varieties and degrees of civilization. It was but a loose group of states, held together in peace by no common interests or sympathies, but only by the superior power of Rome. We speak of it as an empire, but it had no thorough organization like the empires of the present day. The governing state was a republic. Because of its position as the head of an empire, we call it an imperial republic. In fact, though not in theory, the chief element of the republican government was the senate. It had created the empire and was now attempting to protect and rule it. The history of the century preceding Caesar's victory over Pompey, however, proves that the senate had failed to protect the empire from foreign enemies and to suppress rebellions, still more to satisfy the needs of the subjects. In fact, notwithstanding many good intentions of the senate as a whole and of individual members, its government was essentially an organized system of robbery and oppression. As a result the empire already showed symptoms of decay. The problem of the reformer should have been to give the Roman world a better organization, to protect it better from foreign and domestic enemies, to redress wrongs, and, finally, to create institutions through which all the inhabitants could take part in the central government as well as in that of their own communities. It is necessary now to inquire what Caesar accomplished in these directions.

431. Caesar's Government and Reforms (49-44 B.C.).—He held at one and the same time the offices of consul and dictator,

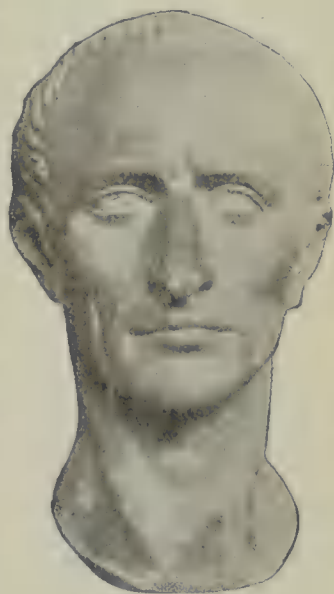
granted him for long periods and finally for life. As pontifex maximus he was head of the state religion. These offices made him king in all but name. He received, too, for life the title *Im-pe-ra'tor* ("general"), from which the word emperor is derived. Evidently Caesar wished to make his power hereditary; and as he had no nearer heirs, he adopted as a son his grand-nephew Octavius, a youth of remarkable talent.

Caesar allowed the assemblies little power and made the senate a mere advisory council. Sulla had doubled the number of senators; Caesar increased it to nine hundred by admitting not only knights but also many inferior citizens, and even some half-barbarous Gauls. Probably he wished in time to make it represent the whole empire.

In the provinces the evils of aristocratic rule, described in an earlier chapter,¹ were now at their height. By abolishing the system of leasing the direct taxes, Caesar prevented the capitalists from plundering the subject countries.

He appointed able, honest governors, and held them strictly to account. The officers whom he appointed to command the legions, under the governor, and the revenue officials, who were his own servants and freedmen, saw that his will should everywhere be enforced. The "estates of the Roman people", as the provinces had been called, were to be cultivated and improved, no longer pillaged. He gave citizenship to the Gauls, and it was his wish that as rapidly as possible all the provincials should become Romans. At the same time he greatly improved the condition of Rome and Italy.

432. Caesar's Death (44 B.C.).—The nobles were envious of Caesar and longed to regain the privilege of misruling the



JULIUS CAESAR

(Now believed to be a modern study, though a very successful one; British Museum)

¹ Ch. xxxi. | 389

world. While they forced upon him honours such as belonged only to the gods, they began to plot his murder. Chief among the conspirators were the "lean and hungry" Cassius, and Marcus Brutus, a scholar and strong republican, but impractical. There were in all about sixty in the plot. Pretending to urge a petition of one of their number, they gathered about him in the senate and assailed him with daggers. He fell, stabbed with twenty-three wounds. The senate dispersed. Mark An'to-ny, Caesar's colleague in the consulship, delivered the funeral oration and read the will, which, by its generosity to the citizens, stirred them against the murderers.

433. Estimate of Caesar.—With the possible exception of Hannibal, Caesar was the most brilliant military genius the world had thus far produced. He was, too, a master of simple prose, an orator of great clearness and force, and an incessant builder of useful public works. His character was many-sided, his capacity boundless. He was mild to the conquered; and when political enemies had laid down their arms, they found him a friend and benefactor. In the brief intervals of peace between his campaigns he displayed a statesmanship equal to his ability in the field. The most grievous wrongs he righted; and by taking measures to secure the responsibility of the provincial governors, he doubtless believed that he had provided for the future welfare of his subjects. The inhabitants of the empire were thus made happier by his rule. The continuance of his policy, however, required a strong executive perpetually in office. Had his plan of establishing an absolute monarchy succeeded, it would have been but a partial solution of the problem of reform. For the evils of absolute rule we have only to look to the Oriental nations, and to the Roman empire itself, when, three centuries after Caesar, the government came to have that character. Neither Caesar nor any other Roman statesman seems to have entertained the idea of creating institutions by means of which the inhabitants of the empire, dispensing with paternal despotism, could safeguard their own interests. The grant of citizenship to the provincials and the admission of representatives of the provinces to the

senate would have been a great benefit; yet even a measure of this kind might not have prevented the ultimate decline of the empire.

What Caesar would have accomplished, had he lived, cannot be known. His murder was a great political mistake, as it plunged the world again into desolating war. In this struggle the question at issue was not as to the form of government to be adopted; it was what general should succeed to the power of Caesar.

II. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE SUCCESSION

44-31 B.C.

434. Beginning of the Third Civil War (44 B.C.); Caesar's Heir.—Fearing the enraged populace, the chief conspirators, or “liberators”, as they called themselves, fled from Rome. Cicero, who approved the murder, though he had no hand in it, sailed for Greece, but was driven back by a storm. Thereupon he returned to Rome to take the lead of the senate against the consul Mark Antony, who was acting the tyrant. In the next few months Cicero delivered against him a series of powerful speeches, known as the *Philippics* from their resemblance to the orations of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon.¹ But eloquence had ceased to be a force in the world. Henceforth issues were to be decided by armies.

Octavius was pursuing his studies in Illyricum when news came of his great-uncle's death. He sailed at once for Italy, and taking the name Gaius Julius Caesar Oc-ta-vi-a-nus, he came almost alone to Rome, into the midst of enemies. But



OCTAVIANUS

(At about 16 years of age.
The bust is modern. Vatican
Museum, Rome)

he soon gained friends. By promising the people all their late ruler had bequeathed them, he readily won their hearts; and for a time he sided with the senate against Antony. Deceived by his show of frank simplicity, Cicero declared that the young Octavianus was all for the republic. In fact this youth of nineteen years had no enthusiasm for any cause; in cool cunning he outmatched even the political veterans of the capital.

435. The Second Triumvirate (43 B.C.); Overthrow of the Liberators at Philippi (42 B.C.).—With an army he had raised, Octavianus helped to win a victory over Antony. The senate, now feeling secure, cast off the boy. Immediately he came to an understanding with Antony, his rival, and with Lep'i-dus, Caesar's master of horse, who still held an important command. These three men made of themselves "Triumvirs for Re-establishing the State"—an office they were to hold five years, with power to dispose of all magistracies at will and to issue decrees which should have the force of law. They filled Rome with their troops and renewed the hideous proscriptions of Sulla.¹ Each sacrificed friends and even kinsmen to the hatred of the others. Among the victims of Antony was Cicero, the last great orator of the ancient world.

Antony and Octavianus led their armies to Macedonia to meet the republican forces which Cassius and Brutus had collected there. Two battles were fought near Phi-lip'pi. After the first, which was indecisive, Cassius killed himself in despair. Brutus, beaten in the second engagement, followed the example of his mate; the republican scholar could not live under the rule of iron.

436. War between Antony and Octavianus (31 B.C.); End of the Republic.—The triumvirs renewed their authority for another five years; and when the incompetent Lepidus dropped from the board, the two remaining members divided the empire between them. Antony ruled the East, and Octavianus the West. To cement the alliance, the heir of Caesar gave his sister Octavia in marriage to his colleague. But trouble soon arose. Though a clever orator, a diplomatist, and no mean

¹ § 416. Cf. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Act IV. Scene i

general, Antony was fond of luxury and of vice. Neglecting his wife and the interests of the state, he spent his time with Cleopatra in frivolous dissipation. The Italians supposed he intended to make her his queen and himself despot of an Oriental empire with Alexandria for his capital. They willingly followed Octavianus, therefore, in a war against this national enemy. The fleets of the rivals met off Ac'ti-um on the west coast of Greece (31 B.C.). A-grip'pa, an able general, commanded the ships of Octavianus against the combined squadrons of Antony and Cleopatra. In the early part of the fight this infatuated pair sailed away, leaving their fleet to take care of itself. It was defeated and taken by Agrippa. After the battle, Antony's land force surrendered. At last, when he and Cleopatra committed suicide¹ in Alexandria, Octavianus was master of the empire.

The battle of Actium was one of the most important in ancient history; it saved European civilization from undue Oriental influence; it ended the long anarchy which followed the murder of Caesar; and it placed the destiny of the empire in the hands of an able statesman.

III. CULTURE

437. The Great Age of Republican Literature (82-31 B.C.).—One of the most eminent writers of this age was Caesar. His *Commentaries on the Gallic War* and *on the Civil War* tell the story of his campaigns. The work is a model historical narrative—plain, direct, and elegant, with no pretension to ornament of any kind. It is true that the story represents the author in a favourable light, and that Caesar undoubtedly intended it to justify his conduct of the Gallic war; but these circumstances do not prove the story untrustworthy. Especially the modesty with which he speaks of his own achievements, and his generosity in excusing the mistakes or in praising the merits of others, commend the work as a truthful narrative. Toward the end of the period Sallust wrote a short treatise *On the*

¹ Cf. Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*

Conspiracy of Catiline, and another *On the Jugurthine War*. Along with his narrative of events, he tried to analyse impartially the character of society and the motives of conduct. His works are valuable sources of information for the subjects treated. These were the chief historians of the age. Cornelius Ne'pos wrote a work *On Eminent Men*, in which he treated of famous Romans and foreigners. Most of the lives which we still possess are of Greek generals; they prove him to have been an inferior and untrustworthy author.

The foremost orator of the period—one of the most famous of all time—was Cicero. His birthplace was that of Marius—Arpinum, a municipality among the hills of Latium. But he had hardly a taste of the severe country discipline which Marius experienced; for while he was still young, his parents changed their residence to Rome, to give their children the best possible education. Cicero received his early instruction at home and in private schools. In youth he studied law, listened eagerly to the eminent orators of the time, took lessons in Greek and Latin rhetoric, and finally went to Athens and Rhodes to complete his preparation as an orator under the greatest instructors of the age. Returning to Rome, he gradually entered public life, and by ability he forced his way up through the career of offices.¹ The narrow circle of nobles, as exclusive as ever, had to admit him to an equality with themselves. Through his writings we know his character more intimately than that of any other Roman. His own words tell us that he was vain, and in politics often wavering; but in these respects he was probably no worse than any of his contemporaries. His tastes were literary and intellectual; and in spite of small weaknesses he could always be found, in great issues, on the side he believed to be right.

His *Orations*, like those of any other political speaker, must be critically sifted in order to determine what statements in them may be used for historical purposes. Far more trustworthy are his *Letters* to friends, in which he speaks candidly of passing events. In fact, this correspondence gives us a

¹ § 391

remarkably full and accurate knowledge of the social, moral, and political conditions of the time. His many philosophic works are a presentation of Greek ideas in the Latin language. The soundness of his character and his desire to raise the moral standard of the reading public are evinced by his constant choice of the nobler ideals of philosophy in preference to the merely useful and material. In his *Republic* he suggested the idea that a state, when distracted by internal strife, like the Roman empire of his time, needed the paternal care of its leading citizen—*prin'ceps*. The task of the princeps would be to hold the various offices and powers of the state in harmony with one another and to require all to perform effectively their several duties. It is a remarkable fact that the government of Augustus, which we shall soon examine,¹ embodied Cicero's idea. But the greatness of Cicero lies chiefly in the fact that he was a literary artist of surpassing genius. "He created a language which remained for sixteen centuries that of the civilized world, and used that language to form a style which nineteen centuries have not replaced. . . . Before his time Latin prose was, from a wide point of view, but one among many local ancient dialects. As it left his hands, it had become a universal language, one which had definitely superseded all others, Greek included, as the type of civilized expression."²

Lu-cré'ti-us, a poet of the age, composed in verse a work *On the Nature of the World*, in which he tried by means of science to dispel from the mind all fear of death and of the gods—to free men from superstition. It is a work of remarkable genius. Ca-tul'lus, who lived at the same time, wrote beautiful lyrics and elegies on subjects of love and life, and also some bitter lampoons. On the whole, the poetry of this period is less celebrated than that of the following.

438. Education.—A boy first attended an elementary school, in which he learned the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic. After completing this course, he entered a higher school, kept by a *gram-mat'i-cus*, who taught him Greek and

Latin literature. Among the Latin books read were the poems of Naevius and Ennius, the comedies of Plautus,¹ and a Latin translation of Homer. History, oratory, and the Laws of the Twelve Tables² were also studied. There were schools, too, for girls, though less is known of them. Often the wealthy educated their children at home, as in the preceding period, with the help of Greek slaves or hired tutors. After the course in literature the youth who wished to enter public life studied the theory and practice of oratory under a rhetorician. In this course some work was done in philosophy, which included ethics and science. Already we find a beginning of the tendency to neglect the study of cause and effect and the deeper truths of science and history for a mere skimming of the surface of knowledge. In the pursuit of the useful the higher faculties of the mind were left to decay. The children of the rich were neglected by their parents and pampered by their slave teachers. Doubtless many a father wished to see his son develop a strong moral character; but the surroundings of the youth were no longer favourable to the growth of the heroic virtues which had made Rome great.

439. Public Works—Art (to 31 B.C.).—Though the chief influence in the art, as in the literature of the Romans, was Hellenic, they did not copy merely, but whatever they learned of others they adapted in their own way to their own needs. Next to usefulness the works of their hands are most famous for grandeur and durability. These, too, were qualities of their character; but they were able to achieve their ideals, partly because of the excellent building material in and about Rome, and partly through the use of the round arch. This form of architecture they employed in sewers, in bridges, and, with necessary modifications, in the domes of some of their temples. The arched covering of the Cloaca Maxima,³ which still exists, belongs to the later part of the republic. A comparatively new form of building at Rome was the *ba-sil'i-ca*. It was a large, oblong structure, consisting of a central hall surrounded by galleries. The latter rested on columns or on

¹ § 395 and n. 1

² § 333

³ § 312

square pillars. The plan was adopted from Greece, and has continued down into modern times in one form of the Christian church. The first basilica at Rome was built by Cato the Elder. On the south side of the Forum Caesar erected a large building of the kind, named after him the Basilica Julia. Its

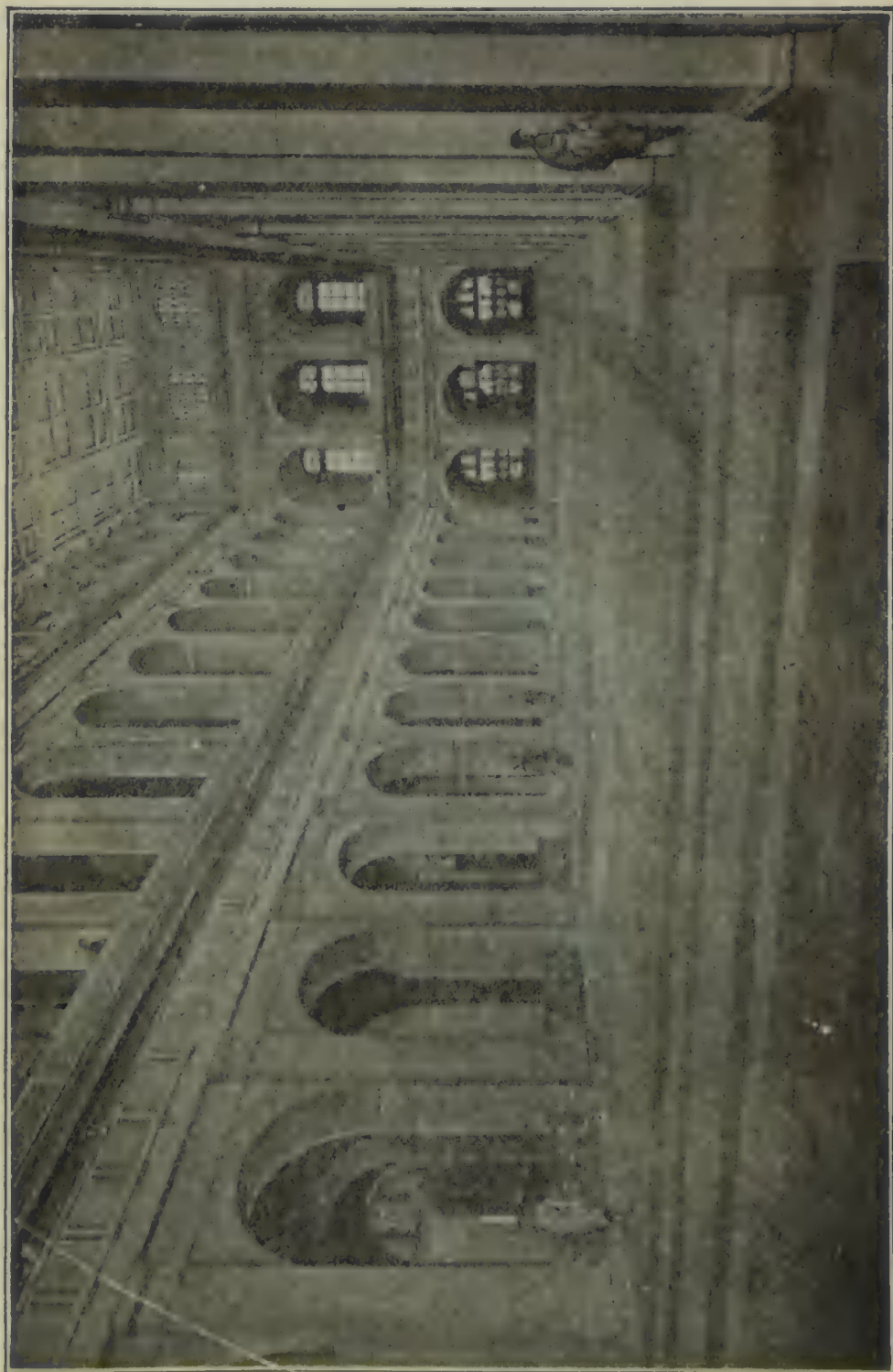


• TOMB OF CAECILIA METELLA

(Appian Way. From a photograph)

foundations still exist. The Roman basilicas were used for mercantile and banking business and for the session of courts.

The families which had acquired great wealth began to esteem their individual members more highly even than the state. The increasing importance of the great family and of its members found expression in the building of magnificent tombs. For miles beyond the city gate the ruins of these great tombs line both sides of the Appian Way. That of Cae-cil'i-a Me-tel'la, built in the Age of Caesar, is the most impressive.



INTERIOR OF THE BASILICA JULIA
(Restored by Gatteschi)

While we appreciate the progress of literature and of intelligence, we must not lose sight of the fact that in nearly every other respect Rome was rapidly decaying. Her once sound morals had given way to vice; republican freedom had long been a mere shadow; the empire was threatened within by anarchy, without by barbarians.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE FOUNDING OF THE PRINCIPATE; THE JULIAN PRINCES

31 B.C.—41 A.D.

440. The Augustan Government.—The battle of Actium made Octavianus master of the Roman world.¹ As Lepidus had been dropped from the triumvirate and Antony had committed suicide, Octavianus was sole triumvir. He had, too, the consulship. For a time it seemed doubtful whether, in imitation of his adoptive father, he would retain all the power in his own hands, or resign it after the example of Sulla; but finally a middle course was taken. Early in 27 B.C. he laid down the office of triumvir, with all his extraordinary power, and restored the government to the senate and people. This was a formal return to the republic. Appreciating his service in the re-establishment of peace, the senate voted him the title Augustus. Heretofore this epithet had been reserved for the gods and their shrines. In conferring it on Octavianus the senate granted no power, but wished to mark him as the one whom all should revere. Although we shall henceforth speak of him as Augustus, we are to bear in mind that all his successors held this title as their chief distinction. It is nearly equivalent to His Sacred Highness, yet without denoting any official position, whether religious or political.

The senate, however, did not allow him to retire into private life. It assigned to him certain provinces. For their government it gave him proconsular power. Soon afterward it voted that this power should include a supervision over all the provincial governors. As these officers commanded the armies of their provinces, the superior position of Augustus made him

general-in-chief of all the military forces. After holding the consulship many years by annual election, he gave up that magistracy. The assembly conferred on him instead the tribunician power, without the office of tribune. This authority made his person sacred¹ and marked him as a champion of the people. Through it also he had a share in the government of Rome and Italy. Sometimes, with a colleague, he undertook the duties of the censor; and when Lepidus, the pontifex maximus, died, Augustus accepted for life an appointment to the latter office. It made him head of the state religion. Augustus was also emperor. In his time the title still meant "General"; not till more than a century after his death did it come to signify "Emperor". In estimating the position finally held by Augustus, it should be remembered that all the old republican magistrates still existed and continued to exercise the same functions as before. Constitutionally Augustus was on a level with the consuls. In honour and in personal influence, however, he overshadowed all the other officials. He was always consulted on the suitability of candidates for the various offices and on every other matter; and his policy was usually carried out. It is clear that most of his power was exercised, not as a magistrate, but as a political "boss". The Romans dignified his position with the title *princeps*, "leading citizen". The idea came in part from Cicero's *Republic*.² We may translate this title by its derivative, "prince", with the understanding that in Roman history it means simply the most influential citizen, whose actual power as a "boss" far exceeded his constitutional authority. In this sense a principate was a republic controlled by such a prince. The Roman principate was, in fact, a transitional stage between the republic and the monarchy.

441. The Provinces.—The border provinces, and all others which danger threatened, were under the direct care of the prince. His lieutenants had charge of their judicial and military affairs; his agents attended to finance. Egypt was not called a province, but a prefecture, governed by a prefect

appointed by Augustus. The Egyptians looked upon the prince as a king and the prefect as his viceroy. The older and more peaceful provinces still belonged to the senate, which appointed annual governors. This division of power was carried through the whole government. Each of the two powers exercised a certain control over the other. The prince's supervision over the senate's provinces made the governors juster and more efficient. On the other hand, the senate checked the authority of the prince in two ways: (1) All the governors, excepting that of Egypt, and all the higher officers of the army, had to be senators; (2) the prince, like any other magistrate, gave to the senate periodically an account of his administration, and was therefore responsible to that body for all his acts.

Augustus followed the example of Julius Caesar in insisting on a just and vigorous government; although he withheld the Roman citizenship, the provincials still enjoyed a large degree of local freedom. He encouraged trade and knit the empire together by building well-paved roads to the remotest parts of the Roman world. Thus the imperial government brought the provinces protection and happiness.

442. The Eastern Frontier.—A study of the frontier must take account of the provinces and dependent states on and near the border, as the management of such countries was closely connected with the question of frontier defence. In the time of Augustus the part of the empire east of the Adriatic was densely populated and rich, whereas Italy and the West had a relatively sparse population and little wealth. In settling the affairs of the East, therefore, Augustus had to proceed cautiously in order not to stir up opposition. In general he confirmed Pompey's arrangements.¹ The small kingdoms of Asia Minor, as Cappadocia and Ga-la'ti-a,² were left undisturbed. Judea, too, had become a kingdom and was now ruled by Herod. This man, the builder of a great temple to Jehovah in Jerusalem, was king at the time Jesus was born. But some years after the death of Herod the kingship was abolished, and Judea was placed under the rule of an agent—

¹ § 421

² Galatia, however, was converted into a province in 25 B.C.

proc-u-ra'tor—of Augustus. In general the tendency was gradually to convert the dependent kingdoms into provinces. The great frontier province of the East was Syria. Three legions were quartered in it for the defence of the Euphrates border. As the governor of Syria was commander of this force, he had to be a man of military experience and ability. Beyond the Euphrates lay Armenia and Parthia. The latter was the only great, well-organized state outside the Roman empire. The question as to whether Rome or Parthia should control Armenia was the source of endless trouble between the two great powers.

443. The Southern Frontier.—Egypt supplied Rome with grain during a third of the year. It abounded in wealth of every kind. Alexandria was still a great centre of commerce, industry, and intellectual life.¹ The person who commanded the resources of this country held the key to the mastery of the empire. Hence Augustus cleverly retained the direct management of it, always appointed to its government some personal friend among the knights, and permitted no senator even to visit the Nile Valley without his special consent. One legion was enough to guard its southern border against the Nubians.

West of Egypt still fewer troops were needed to protect the frontier from the sparse tribes of the desert. *Cy-re-na'i-ca*, the district west of Egypt, had been annexed to the province of Crete. Farther west was Africa, which, since the time of Julius Caesar, included the former kingdom of Numidia. West of Africa was Mauretania, which was still a dependent kingdom. In Africa the Phoenician language still prevailed in everyday life, yet Rome would have nothing but Latin for official use. Carthage had been restored by Julius Caesar and was already a flourishing city. From the province of Africa Rome drew a great part of her supply of grain and fruit.

444. The Northern Frontier: (1) the Danube and the Alps.—The protection of the northern frontier presented the most difficult problem with which the prince had to deal, for the

country beyond still swarmed with fierce, aggressive barbarians. Under the principate of Augustus the governor of Macedonia extended the empire northward to the lower Danube. The new conquest was organized as the province of Moe'si-a. Augustus himself began the conquest of the country west of Moesia and north of Illyricum. The inhabitants of this district, however, were liberty-loving and warlike. They frequently rebelled; and it was only after hard struggles that Tiberius, stepson of Augustus, finally subdued them.¹ Thereupon their country became the province of Pan-no'ni-a.

Meanwhile the tribes of the Alps and their neighbourhood were disturbing northern Italy. The hard task of subduing these mountaineers was achieved by Tiberius and his brother Drusus.² Two provinces were made of the conquered district—Nor'i-cum, the mountainous country west of Pannonia, and Rae'ti-a, on the headwaters of the Danube and the Rhine. The work of organizing these four Danubian provinces and of protecting them with a chain of forts fell chiefly to Tiberius, the ablest and most conscientious general and administrator of the age.

445. The Northern Frontier: (2) the Rhine.—It was stated above that Augustus divided Gaul into four provinces.³ Afterward he found it necessary for the defence of the German border to organize also two frontier provinces covering the left bank of the Rhine. They were called Upper Germany and Lower Germany.

The governors of these new provinces had to be military men, commanding strong armies, and ever watchful against the attacks of the restless Germans. It occurred to Augustus that in the end much blood and money might be saved in the protection of the empire by conquering Germany, at least as far as the Elbe River. Drusus undertook this task. But after three years of successful warfare he fatally injured himself by a fall from his horse. It was a great loss to the imperial

¹ Livia, wife of Augustus, had two sons, Tiberius and Drusus, by a former marriage. As the adopted son of Augustus, Tiberius entered the Julian family and became the second prince; § 449.

² Their brilliant success was celebrated by the poet Horace, *Odes*, iv. 14.

family, for Drusus was an able man and popular with the army.

After Tiberius had completed the conquest, Augustus made Va'rus, a distant kinsman, governor of the new province. This man considered his subjects mere slaves, whom he tried to govern by the principles he had learned in the Orient. They resisted; and under the lead of Ar-min'i-us, a chieftain's son who had received his education at Rome, they plotted against their tyrannic governor. As he was leading his three legions through the Teu'to-berg Forest on his way to winter quarters, they surrounded him and cut his army to pieces. Varus killed himself; the barbarians hung their prisoners to trees and tortured them to death (9 A.D.). Though Augustus appeared to bear the news with a brave heart, his spirit was broken by the misfortune he could not repair. From time to time he would say, "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions". Convinced that the strength of the empire should not be further wasted upon such projects, he established the Rhine as the boundary and decided resolutely on a policy of peace.

446. The Army.—The chief reason for this policy of peace was the extreme difficulty of obtaining soldiers. The legionaries had to be Roman citizens. When, occasionally, provincials were enlisted in this class of troops, they had to be given the citizenship. But Augustus opposed the bestowal of citizenship on provincials; for he believed that the unity and the protection of the empire could be maintained most effectively by keeping up the military spirit of the Romans and their pride in the superiority of their race. Since the time of Marius the legion contained from five thousand to six thousand regular troops. Augustus attached to each legion some auxiliaries from the provincials, making the total number of soldiers in each legion about ten thousand. At the close of his administration there were in all twenty-five legions. He had, too, a considerable navy on the Mediterranean and its tributary seas and on the frontier rivers. For the protection of his own person he kept in and about Rome a body of soldiers called the

pretorian guard.¹ The fire department and the police of the capital were likewise organized in military form. All these forces within and near Rome amounted to about twenty thousand men. Police duty in the provinces was performed by native militia.

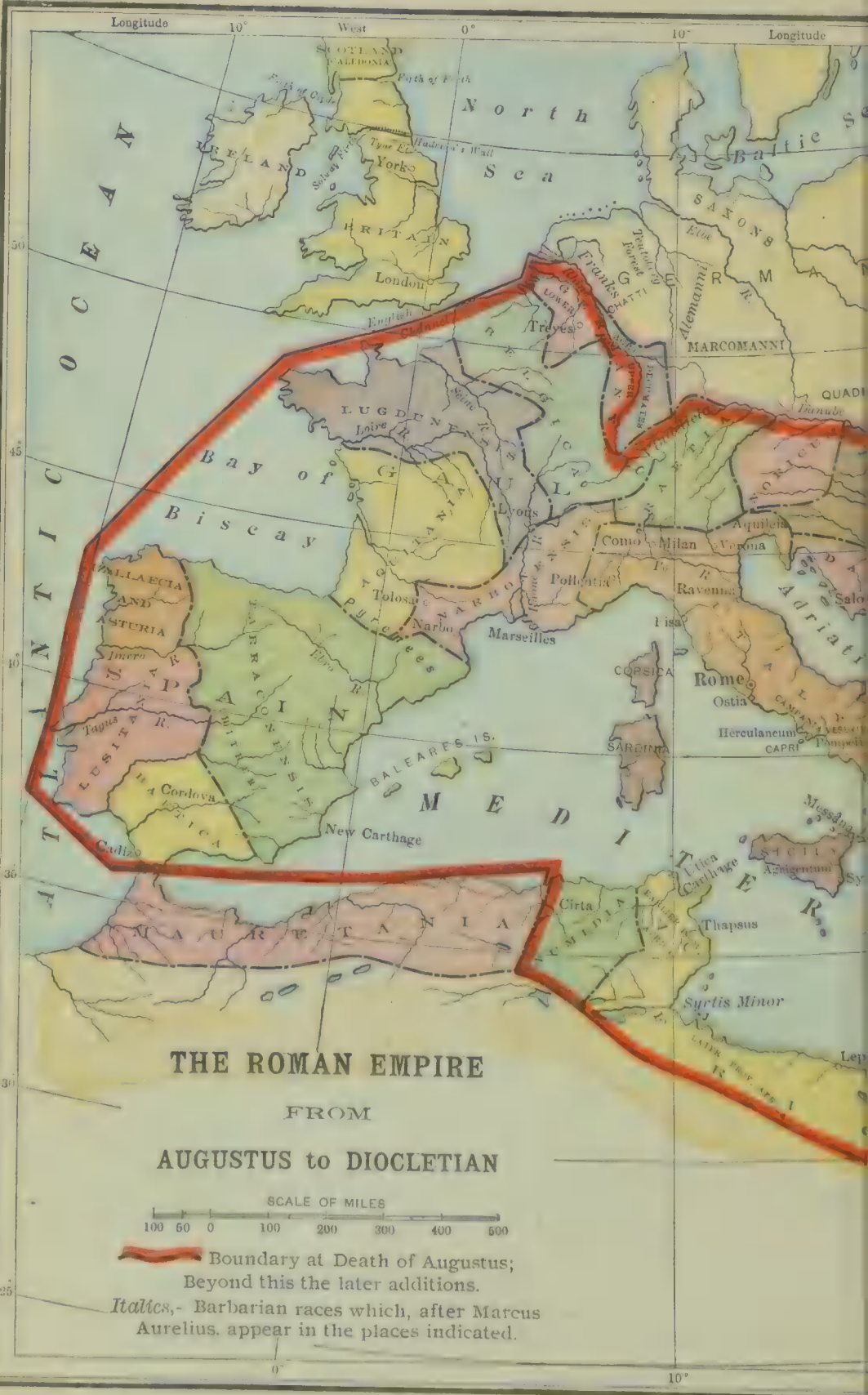
A standing army for the empire was altogether new. But as organized by Augustus it was remarkably small. Excluding the provincial police, it could hardly have exceeded three hun-



MAP OF IMPERIAL ROME

dred thousand. Besides the difficulty of enlisting troops, Augustus had to reckon with expense. As the wealth of the empire had been wasted in the long civil wars, he felt that the taxes could not justly be increased. In order to spare the provincials, he devoted a great part of his own immense fortune to the current administration and to public improvements.

¹ From *præ-tō-ri-um*, the general's tent—the pretorian guard was an outgrowth from the guard which protected the general's headquarters.




THE ROMAN EMPIRE

FROM

AUGUSTUS to DIOCLETIAN



 Boundary at Death of Augustus;
Beyond this the later additions.

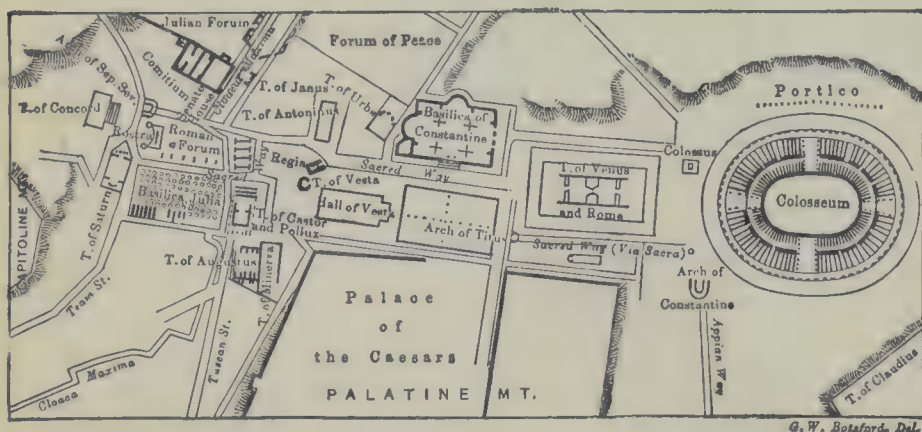
Italics, - Barbarian races which, after Marcus Aurelius, appear in the places indicated.



447. Public Improvements; Architecture.—Augustus planted many colonies both in Italy and in the provinces. His aim was not only to furnish his retired veterans with farms, but also to resettle vacant districts, so as to increase the prosperity of the country.

With him begins the great age of Roman architecture. He himself tells us of his public works:

“The Capitol¹ and the Pompeian theatre I have repaired at enormous expense. . . . Aqueducts which, by reason of age, were crumbling in many places, I have restored . . . and have

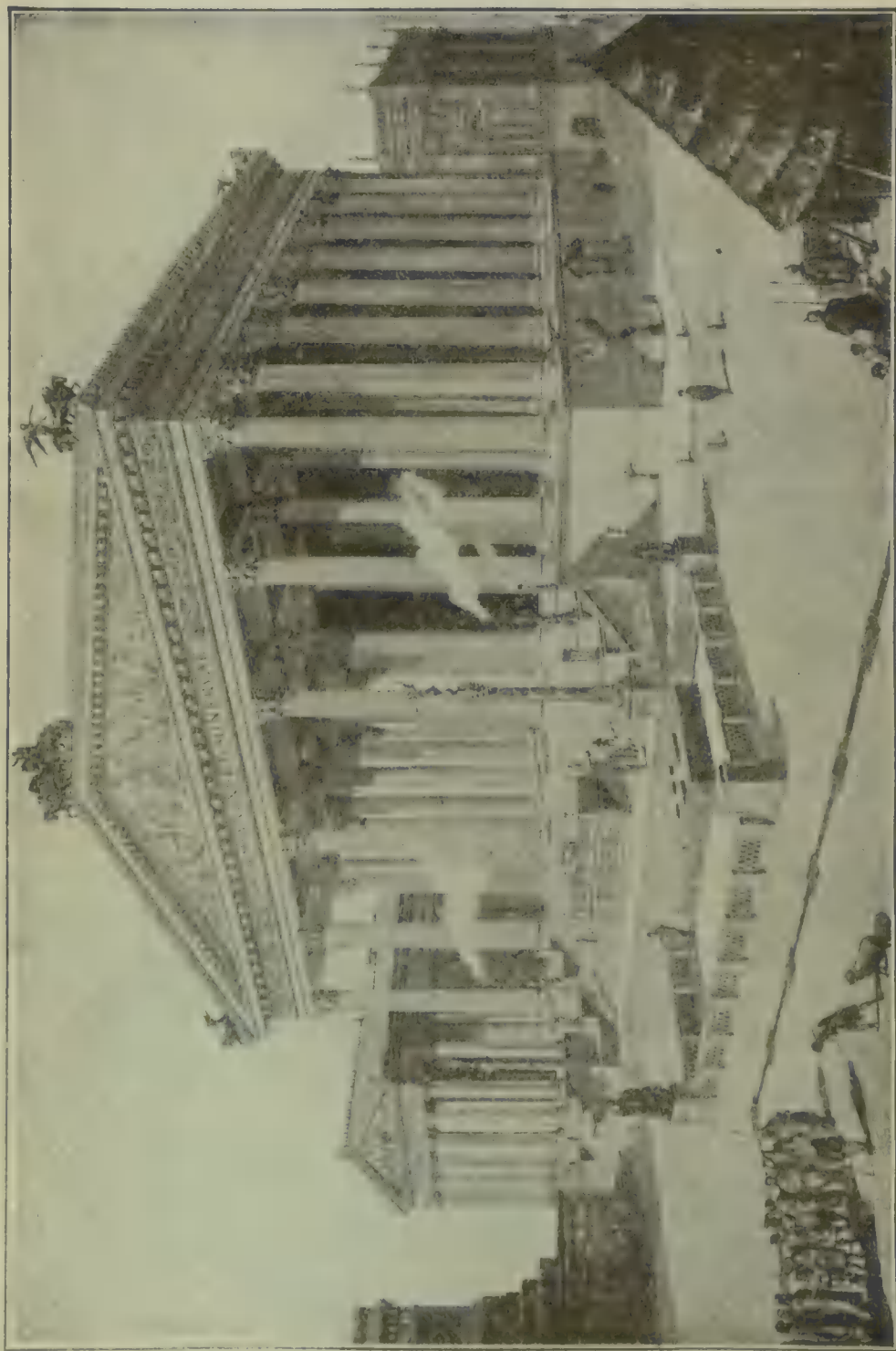


THE SACRED WAY

finished the Julian Forum and the basilica which was between the temple of Saturn and the temple of Castor, works begun and almost completed by my father²; and when that same basilica was consumed by fire, I began its reconstruction on an enlarged scale, inscribing it with the names of my sons. If I do not live to complete it, I have given orders that it be finished by my heirs. In accordance with a decree of the senate, while consul for the sixth time, I restored eighty-two temples of the gods, passing over none which was at that time in need of repair. In my seventh consulship I [re] built the Flaminian Way to Ariminum, and all the bridges except the Mulvian and the Minucian. Upon private ground I have built

¹ The Capitoline temple of Jupiter

² That is, Julius Caesar, the adoptive father of Augustus. On the Basilica Julia, see § 39



CAPITOLINE TEMPLE OF JUPITER, JUNO, AND MINERVA
(Restored by Gatteschi)

with the spoils of war the temple of Mars the Avenger and the Augustan Forum."¹

The Mars of this temple was not to be the god of conquest; his function rather was to punish foreign powers which disturbed the peace of the empire. The Pantheon, which means the "all-divine", was the work of Agrippa, the prince's ablest minister. In it men worshipped Mars and Venus, the chief gods of the Julian family. It was afterward rebuilt by Hadrian. The activity of Augustus wrought a complete change in the appearance of Rome. At the close of his principate he could boast that he had found the city of brick, but left it of marble.

One of the most remarkable works of the age was a great Altar of Peace erected by the senate to commemorate the suppression of disturbances in Spain and Gaul, and more generally to express the spirit of peace for which the empire now stood. It was richly adorned with reliefs representing not only the imperial family, senators, magistrates, and priests, but also plants and garlands.



FLAMINES

(From the Altar of the Augustan Peace; Museum of the Terme, Rome)

¹ Augustus, *Deeds*, xx, xxi. This document is an account of the achievements of Augustus, composed by himself. It is preserved in an inscription—known to scholars as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, from Ancyra, the place where it was found.

448. Literature and Religion.—The principate of Augustus is known as the Golden Age of Roman literature. He encouraged and aided literary men. Through their works he aimed to purify and ennoble the present by bringing it the life of the good and great past. Livy, the most eminent author of prose in this age, wrote a history of Rome in a hundred and forty-two books. In preparing this work he unfortunately relied chiefly on earlier writers of annals.¹ He was lacking, too, in depth and in that knowledge of military affairs and of law which was essential to the historian of Rome. But he loved what he believed to be true and right. The story of Rome, as he tells it, is always lively, vivid, and interesting.

In several ways Ver'gil, the poet, resembled Livy. Both composed in a lofty style with high moral aims. Inspired by the greatness of Rome, both were intensely patriotic and expressed more perfectly than any other writers the ideals of their nation. The poet's narrative is as lively and as dramatic as the historian's. Vergil is graceful, tender, and childlike. His principal work is an epic poem called the *Ae-ne'id*. In this story of the wanderings of Aeneas, he glorifies the beginnings of Rome, and, at the same time, the imperial family, which claimed descent from the hero of his poem.

Horace, author of *Odes* and *Satires* and of *Epistles* in verse, was the poet of contentment and common sense, who bade his friends—

Snatch gayly the joys which the moment shall bring,
And away every care and perplexity fling.²

Leave the future to the gods, he taught. A comfortable villa, some shady nook in summer, and in winter a roaring fireplace, good wine, pleasant friends, and a mind free from care make up his ideal life.

In the later republic, Roman society forgot the gods and lost its morals. Augustus restored the ancient ceremonies of worship, which had fallen into disuse, and attempted to lead the people back to the old religion and to the pure, simple life of the ancestors who had made the city great. Julius had been

¹ § 395, n. 1

² *Odes*, iii. 8

deified after his death, and this example was followed in the case of many other princes. The provincials built temples in which they sacrificed to Augustus as to a god. In Italy and the western provinces the freedmen formed associations for his worship. Quite different was the worship of his Genius, or guardian spirit. From the beginning the Romans used to set up, at the crossing of country roads and of streets in the city, images of Lares, protecting deities of the adjoining lands.¹ They now adopted the custom of placing an image of the Genius of Augustus among these Lares. The idea was to make his Genius the centre of public worship, just as the Genius of the father was the centre of the family religion.² Hence willingness to sacrifice to the guardian spirit of the prince came to be the test of loyalty to the government. In fact, the worship of the prince and his Genius became the most vital force in the religion of the Roman world till the adoption of Christianity.

449. The Principate of Tiberius (14-37 A.D.).—Augustus died in 14 A.D., after forty-five years of rule. His wife Livia, who had been his strong support during life, secured to her son Tiberius the peaceful succession.³

Immediately after his accession the armies on the Danube and the Rhine mutinied, in the hope of gaining some reward for a promise of devotion to the new prince. Fortunately the generals proved loyal and with difficulty suppressed the outbreak. The prince's nephew Ger-man'i-cus, who commanded on the Rhine, then led his army across the river and avenged the defeat of Varus. But as Augustus in his will had advised his successors not to extend the boundaries of the empire, Tiberius recalled his nephew from Germany.

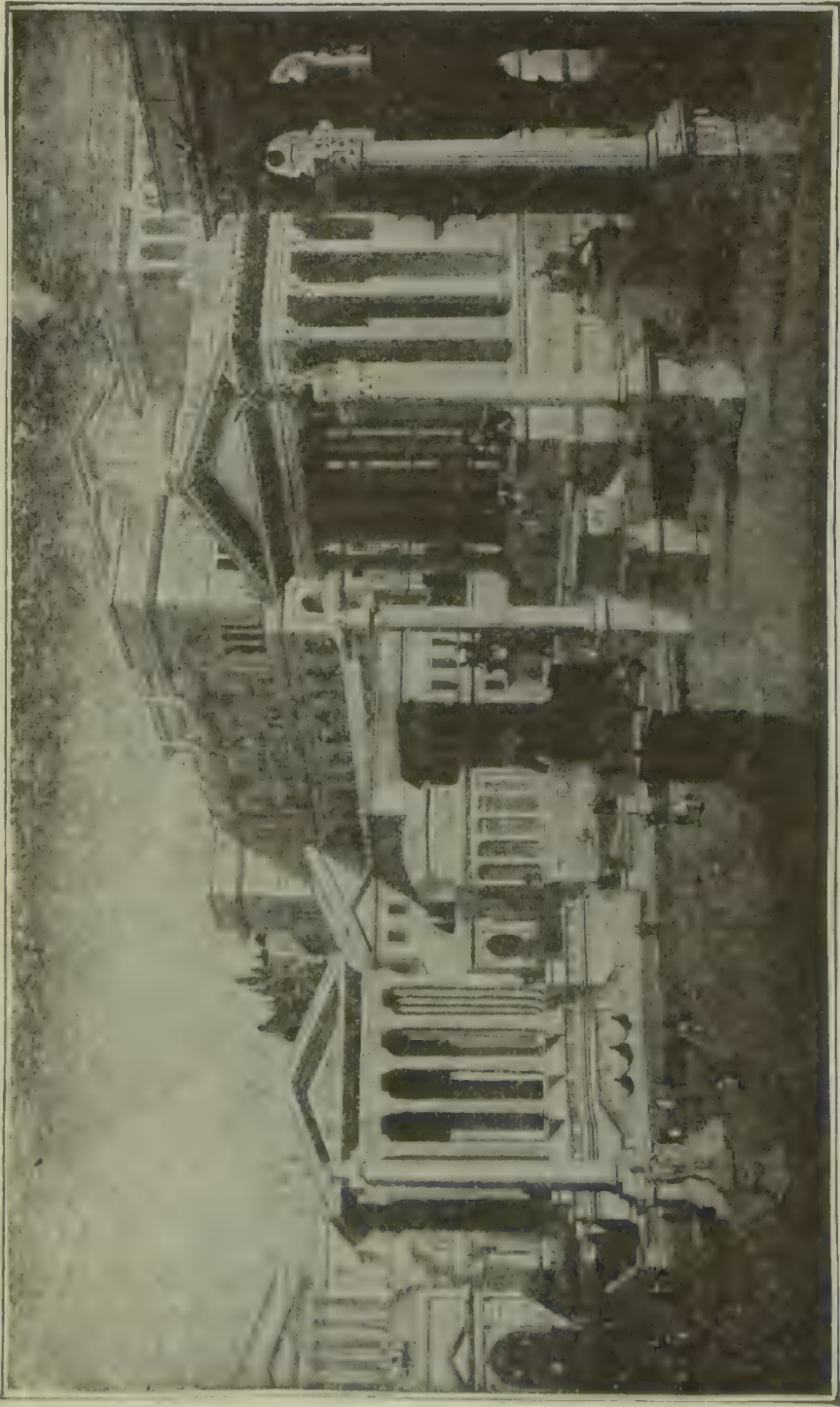
No important war disturbed the remainder of his rule; he devoted himself, therefore, to administrative work, in which he showed marked ability. "He was careful not to distress the provinces by new burdens, and to see that in bearing the old they were safe from the rapacity of their governors."⁴ By rebuilding twelve cities of Asia Minor which had been de-

¹ The protecting deity of the house was also a Lar; § 314

² § 314

³ § 444, n. 1

⁴ Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 6



Temple of Venus and Roma
Temple of Julius Caesar
Temple of Vesta
Hall of Vesta
Equestrian Statue of Vespasian
Palace of the Caesars
Temple of Castor and Pollux
Basilica Julia

A PART OF THE ROMAN FORUM
(Restored by Becchetti)

stroyed by earthquakes, he taught the Romans that they had duties as well as privileges in their relations with the provinces. There is no wonder, then, that the subject nations respected him.

But the populace disliked him because he fed them poorly and provided no shows of gladiators. The nobles hated him still more. Conspiracies became common and the law of treason was rigorously enforced. No one felt safe; for each rightly judged his neighbour by himself; and the prince could hardly restrain the senate from condemning men for the most trivial offences.

450. Capri; the Character and Death of Tiberius (37 A.D.).—The first half of his administration he passed in Rome, the remainder in Cap'ri, a lovely island off the Bay of Naples. From this retreat he still watched over the government, while he left the direct management to Se-ja'nus, prefect of the pretorian guard. This man, too, conspired against the prince and suffered death for his treason.

Tiberius grew more and more hateful to the nobility and to the Roman mob. Not that he was especially cruel or vicious; he seems rather to have been a stern, unsympathetic man, whose motives the nobles did not wish to understand. He was unsocial, tactless, and economical—qualities which would have made any prince unpopular. Notwithstanding his faults he was an able, conscientious ruler.

Caligula, son of Germanicus and successor to Tiberius, seems to have been insane. His principate (37-41 A.D.) is unimportant.

Octavius, afterward Augustus, had been adopted by Julius Caesar into the Julian gens. Augustus had adopted Tiberius, who adopted Caligula. The first three princes were therefore by adoption Julian. Having also been adopted into the family of Caesar, they were all called Caesar. After Caligula the principate passed to another gens and family,¹ but the name Caesar was retained as a title.

¹ In the name Julius Caesar, Julius designates the gens and Caesar the family (§ 314). The Julian gens was followed by the Claudian.

CHAPTER XXXV
FROM PRINCIPATE TO ABSOLUTE MONARCHY
14-337 A.D.

I. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

451. The Prince becomes a Monarch.—The system established by Augustus continued after his death and was but gradually modified in the course of generations. The senate still had an important place in the government; and when Augustus died, 14 A.D., it sanctioned the elevation of his adopted son Tiberius to the principate. Sometimes the new prince was a relative of his predecessor, sometimes he was from another family. Often he was recommended by the populace or the soldiers, but his powers he received from the senate. Though in a condition to check the prince, its members strove among themselves for precedence in flattering him and in voting him new authority. In these circumstances the prince gradually gained power at the expense of the senate, till in the course of a century and a half (27 B.C. to about 125 A.D.), he became a real monarch, still somewhat limited by the senate. At the close of another century and a half (125-284 A.D.), he was as absolute as any Oriental king. Meantime the title of *im-pe-ra'tor*, at first meaning "general", supplanted that of prince and came to signify emperor. This process was substantially completed under *Di-o-cle'ti-an* (284-305 A.D.).

452. The Prince as Administrator; the Bureaucracy.—Another reason for the growth of the prince's authority was the disposition of the people to call upon him to right all their wrongs and to make every needed improvement. Readily accepting such invitations, either through interest in the public welfare or through love of popularity, the prince generally accomplished the desired improvement to the satisfaction of

all. In this way he continually acquired new duties and new power. No magistrate, however able, can be a monarch without a large number of trained, loyal helpers. Augustus found no one acquainted with the duties of administration outside the senate. Gradually, however, there grew up a large class of men who were loyal to the prince and experienced in his service. Meanwhile the various duties of the prince were converted into offices, and new duties were constantly undertaken. In this way developed a complex system of offices described as a bureaucracy. More than any predecessor Diocletian added to the officials of the central government; and he multiplied the number of administrative officers throughout the empire. By means of this bureaucracy he made himself an absolute monarch.

453. New Character of the Imperial Office.—The necessity of defending a long frontier against the German barbarians, who were growing continually more aggressive, led Diocletian to take a colleague in the imperial office; and from that date there were usually two emperors and sometimes three or more. For purposes of administration and defence they divided the empire into an Eastern and a Western half. Although it remained a single empire, the frequent civil wars between the sovereigns greatly impaired its strength. Whereas Rome remained the capital of the West, Con'stan-tine (306-337 A.D.) chose Byzantium as the Eastern capital, naming it Con-stanti-no'ple after himself.

In evidence of his majesty the emperor now wore a crown and a silken robe embroidered in gold and sparkling with precious stones. He proclaimed himself a god and required all who approached to prostrate themselves before him. His will was law and the citizens of the empire were virtually his slaves. This policy was in part devised for meeting the peculiar condition of the times. Great numbers of Germans had been admitted as colonists into the empire, and the soldiers were chiefly of that race. These German troops, accustomed to elect and depose war-chieftains at will, naturally treated the emperors in the same way. To prevent their office from fall-

ing into the condition of a temporary war-leadership and in order to impose upon the ignorant Germans, the emperors surrounded themselves with pomp and ceremony, and with the titles and insignia of a god. In the native population, too, notwithstanding its attachment to Rome, there was a total lack of national feeling; and in the new character of the imperial office an attempt was made to supply, to a people who were growing more ignorant and superstitious, a centralizing force to take the place of nationality.

454. Roads and Colonies; the Civilization of the Empire.—Roads were a further aid to centralization. Successive princes continued to build them till they extended from Rome to every city in the empire. While they served the government as a necessary means of holding the empire together, the commerce and migration along these highways tended to mingle the population and to give it a unity of customs and ideas.

An equally important part in the unification of the empire was taken by the colonies. Julius Caesar, Augustus, and their successors founded many colonies of Latin-speaking people in the provinces, especially in those of the West. Two great advantages came from this policy. In the first place, such a colony, loyal to the mother city, helped to secure the obedience of the surrounding natives; secondly, it was a centre from which the language, customs, and laws of the Romans extended to the natives. The aim was to Romanize Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and in general the West, where as a rule the people were comparatively uncivilized at the time of their conquest.¹ To a great degree the policy was successful. After the natives had come to be like the Romans in language and in life, they were given the citizenship, and proved as loyal to Rome as the colonists, from whom they could no longer be distinguished.

The attitude of Rome toward the part of the empire east of the Adriatic Sea was different. There Greek civilization prevailed as the result of Alexander's conquests (§ 267).

¹ The northern coast of Africa west of Egypt was occupied by Phoenicians, whose civilization was older than that of Rome. There were a few Greek and Phoenician colonies in Gaul and Spain.

Recognizing the superiority of Greek culture, Rome made no attempt to displace it by her own. It was her aim rather to encourage its further growth in the Orient. When, accordingly, she planted colonies in the East, the settlers were mainly Greek and the colonies received Greek names.¹ The result



THE SACRED WAY

(Ascending the Velia east of the Forum. Notice the ancient pavement. At the highest point of the road, to the right, is the Arch of Titus. To the right of the arch rises the Palatine Hill.)

was that in time the empire consisted of a Roman half in the West and a Greek half in the East.

455. The Growth of Cities; their Government.—In the countries which Rome found already highly civilized were many large cities. In the other parts, as in western Europe and along the Danube, most people lived in the country, so that there were few towns. In all these places Rome encouraged the growth of cities, partly because the natives could learn in them to speak and live like the Romans far more speedily than

¹ This statement does not hold for the provinces north of Greece and Macedonia. There were a few Roman colonies farther east, as at Berytus (Beirut), Syria.

when scattered through the country, and partly because Rome knew better how to govern city-states than country-states. As a result of this policy, most of the states of the empire in the West came to be cities, just as they already were in the East. These city-states were like those of Greece, or like Rome before she began to extend her power.

The population of a city consisted of slaves and freemen. The latter were either citizens or non-citizens. Citizenship was not acquired by residence, but was occasionally bestowed as a gift. All the citizens had a right to attend the assembly and vote in the election of magistrates and in the making of laws. But those only who possessed a certain amount of property fixed by law and who had an honourable character and occupation were eligible to offices. The chief magistrates were the *du-o'vir-i* ("board of two"), patterned after the Roman consuls. At the expiration of their year of office all the important magistrates, including the *duoviri*, became life members of the *cu'ri-a*—city council—if they did not already belong to it. Every fifth year the *douviri* took a census and made an assessment of their community. As there were not enough retired magistrates to fill the *curia* to its normal number, usually a hundred, the *duoviri* supplied the deficiency by enrolling among the members—*cu-ri-a'les*—the more wealthy and distinguished private citizens of the community and sometimes even rich or celebrated strangers. In the first century A.D. we know that there was still spirited rivalry for office. On the walls of the houses of *Pom-pe'i* may be found written in large letters such expressions as, "The barbers wish to have *Tre'bi-us* as aedile";¹ and "The fruit-sellers unanimously support *Hol-co'ni-us Pris'cus* for *duovir*".

456. Public Spirit.—The magistrate received no salary; in fact on entering office or on becoming a *curialis* he had to pay a fee fixed by law. Public life gave him little opportunity for illegal gains. On the contrary, the people expected him, in addition to the required payment, to expend his own money in

¹ The aediles were chiefs of police, supervisors of the markets, games, etc. Below them were the *quaestors*, who were treasurers. There were *quaestors* and aediles at Rome, whence the cities of the empire derived these and other institutions

entertaining them with feasts and shows and in building or repairing public works. It was partly by gifts from wealthy citizens that most cities acquired enough property to pay from the revenue all its necessary expenses, without resort to taxation. Many a city received from the same source an endowment for producing the annual tribute due to Rome. Such communities levied no taxes whatever. In general the ancient state possessed a large capital either in money or in rentable property, the income from which went far toward defraying expenses; whereas a modern state or municipality as a rule has no productive wealth, but is burdened with heavy debts, the interest on which, in addition to other enormous expenses, must be paid by taxes on the citizens. Only by taking account of this great contrast can we appreciate the prosperity of the cities of the empire and the generous patriotism of the wealthy people.

457. Condition of the Empire in the Second Century A.D.—

In the second century A.D. the empire reached its greatest extent. It included considerable territory east of the Euphrates and north of the Danube. The long, profound peace was scarcely disturbed by the wars on the distant frontiers or by the occasional tumults in the capital. The emperor, looking upon himself as the father of the provincials, made their welfare his chief aim. By granting to their cities in succession either partial or full Roman citizenship, he gradually obliterated the political distinction between Italy and the provinces.

The Age was noted for its kindliness and generosity. Endowments were established for the maintenance and education of poor children. In every city were public physicians who attended without charge to the ailments of the poor; and all who needed food could obtain it free from their city. Slaves were treated far more gently than in earlier times; and with the cessation of wars of conquest their number steadily diminished.

Throughout this Age we find an intense activity in building. Considerable money for the purpose came from the emperors, but much more from the liberality of wealthy private persons,

as explained in the foregoing section. As a result of this spirit, the civilized world came to be magnificently furnished with useful and decorative works. We read of them in the books written at the time, and we find evidence of them in the extant ruins of excellent roads, bridges, aqueducts, theatres, temples, fortifications, and other public works throughout the whole area then included in the empire.



HADRIAN'S WALL

(From a photograph)

These wonderful activities, however, were not a sign of wealth or of genuine prosperity. Measured by any modern standard the empire was in fact excessively poor. The Orient alone was wealthy, whereas vast tracts of territory throughout the West were so unproductive that their administration and protection were a burden on the imperial treasury. The emperors devoted themselves with heroism to the improvement of this territory, but in so doing they exhausted the productivity of the wealthier portions. With modern means the task would have been simple; but as there were no machines in those days, everything had to be done by hand. Thus ham-

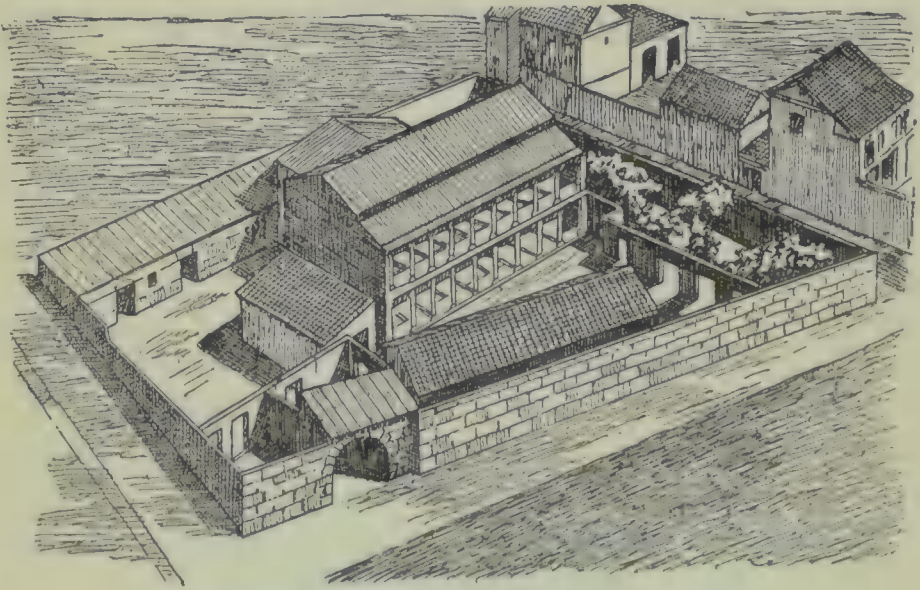
pered, the population were unable to create a surplus sufficient for making good shortages in the less fertile parts or losses caused by extensive drought or pestilence. In other words, industry and capital were not sufficiently developed for the maintenance of so great an empire. This weakness was aggravated by the pernicious system of land tenure and of agriculture described in the following section. These crude conditions were the chief defect of the empire and the primary reason of its inability to resist the causes of decline.

458. The Large Estate and its Tenants.—Most of the land in the provinces had been gathered up into large estates owned by the prince or by wealthy individuals. An estate of this kind contained thousands of acres of arable land, orchards and vineyards, pasture, and woodland. The mansion was strongly built of stone and provided with turrets for defence. In it lived the proprietor, or in his absence the *conductor*, a man who had taken a lease of the entire estate. Near the mansion were the granaries and the storehouses, in which were gathered the grain, fruit, and wine. There were stables, too, for the domestic animals and huts for the slaves. Here and there stood the shrines of the gods worshipped by the people of the estate.

There had come to be so great a scarcity of slaves, however, that the conductor could till but a small part of the estate with their labour. The rest of it he let out in small lots to free tenants for a period of perhaps five years. For the sake of protection they grouped their houses in villages. The lands along the frontier were especially exposed to raids of the barbarians, and therefore required defence. For that reason the mansion, storehouses, and villages were surrounded by walls, and sometimes the entire estate was thus fortified.

The rents which the tenants paid were not unreasonable; but the conductor compelled them to labour for him. They built and kept in repair, not only their own cottages, but also the mansion, the barns, shrines, and works of defence. They planted the orchards and vineyards and attended to the drainage and irrigation. They toiled in the fields which the con-

ductor had retained for himself. Although he was merely a private person, he assumed the powers of a magistrate in his dealings with the peasants and exacted from them labour and gifts beyond their capabilities. They applied for redress to the prince's agent (*proc-u-ra'tor*), who lived on or near the estate, and whose duty it was to see that they had justice; but too often this official made common cause with the conductor and shared the profits of his oppression. Sometimes the peas-



A COUNTRY HOUSE, VILLA, OF THE LATE EMPIRE

The principal buildings are surrounded by a stone wall for defence. Attached to the walls within are long buildings which serve as storerooms and stables. The front of the lord's dwelling is a two-storied portico. On our right is a garden with trees. Outside the walls are less valuable farm buildings. From Vogüé, "*Architecture civile et religieuse de la Syrie*," etc.

ants sent a piteous complaint to the prince, begging him to rescue them from the clutches of their oppressors. Although he wished them well and laid down regulations for their better treatment, he was himself at the mercy of his agents, who were too far away from him to feel their responsibility. The peasants had to remain on the estate and continually renew their leases; for their homes were there, and they could find no better terms under other masters. Though free in name, they were fast becoming serfs.



459. Literature after Augustus.—After Augustus literature in general declined. In this time, however, we find a few writers who in their own way were as eminent as any of their predecessors. Among them was Tacitus the historian. His *Ger-ma'ni-a* is an account of the customs, institutions, and character of the German tribes of his time—about 100 A.D. His *Annals* and *Histories*, of which we still have many books, covered a considerable period following the death of Augustus. His experience as an army officer and statesman gave him a clear understanding of military and political events. His whole sympathy, however, was with the aristocracy; and these feelings led him to misjudge the princes, whom he looked upon as tyrants and usurpers. For sympathy with common men we must look to the provincial literature and especially to the Christian writings collected in the *New Testament*.

Some of the Romans of this age were interested in collecting and systematizing facts. A writer of this character was Pliny the Elder, who composed a *Natural History*, in reality an encyclopædia of the arts and sciences. The author was extremely industrious in culling notes from hundreds of works; but he lacked the method and the discrimination of a true scientist. Along with a vast amount of sound information, accordingly, his work contains much that is merely fanciful.

Gradually the writers declined in intelligence and in literary style. The tendency was to neglect the direct study of nature and the acquisition of new facts and to depend for information on the labours of earlier generations.

II. CHRISTIANITY TO THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE

460. Origin and Character of Christianity.—The early history of Christianity is to be learned from the books of the *New Testament*. The *Gospels* narrate the life and teachings of Christ. The book entitled *Acts of the Apostles* gives an account of the lives and teachings of those whom He appointed to continue His work after Him, and of the origin of the earliest churches. The *Epistles* are letters written by St. Paul and others to the various churches to explain Christianity and to

encourage men to accept it and live up to the faith. Everywhere the lower classes welcomed a religion which esteemed the soul of the slave equal to that of the emperor. Then, too, in giving positive assurance of pardon from sin and of immortality, Christianity satisfied a spiritual longing which had come upon the world.

461. Relation to the Empire.—During the first century of our era—which begins with the birth of Christ—His followers attracted little attention. In the second century, however, they grew more numerous and more powerful; they had churches in every city and town of the empire and included many wealthy men and women, officers of government, and sometimes members of the imperial family.

Trouble often arose between Christians and their pagan neighbours. Christians were forbidden to have anything to do with the pagan¹ worship. It was impossible for them, therefore, to sit at the table of a pagan or to join in any of the local or public festivities, for the gods were worshipped at every meal and every festival. For this reason the pagans, looking upon the Christians as exclusive and unsocial, began to hate them. The followers of Christ were extremely active, too, in making converts, for they were commanded to bring the whole world into their faith. Naturally the pagans were angry when they saw their near relatives converted and no longer at liberty to join with them in their usual social activities.

This hatred of the Christians grew so great that the populace often rioted against them. On these occasions the magistrates always sided with the pagans and punished the Christians as disturbers of the peace. In other ways the Christians fell into trouble. They formed a vast secret society, and each congregation held its secret meetings. The government, always suspicious of such associations, looked upon those of the Christians as especially mischievous. Whenever a member was called before a magistrate and asked to prove his loyalty

¹ From *pagani*, a Latin word meaning country people. It was used to designate the worshippers of the Roman gods because the country people were the last to accept Christianity.

to Rome by worshipping the Genius of the emperor, his refusal was looked upon as disloyalty.

When, therefore, the pagans came forward and falsely stated that the Christians in their secret meetings practised the most depraved immoralities and even killed and ate children, the officers of the law were ready to believe them. In their superstitious hatred the pagans asserted that famine, pestilence, earthquakes, and other calamities were sent by the gods in their indignation at the Christians, and the government itself adopted this view. Some of the emperors, looking upon them as vile, lawless wretches, ordered the officials to punish with imprisonment, torture, and death, those who refused to give up the faith. In Church history the execution of these commands is termed persecution. There were periods of persecution broken by intervals of comparative quiet. These persecutions were most severe toward the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century. Through all these tribulations the Church grew rapidly in numbers and strength. Its vitality was marvellous.

462. Organization of the Church.—The Church was strong not only in spirit but in organization. In the beginning each society of worshippers was independent. It elected a board of elders, or presbyters, to look after its interests and to instruct the congregation in religion. There were deacons, too, whose main duty was the care of the poor, for from the beginning the Christians gave great attention to charity. In time the churches came to be grouped in a complex system. A district containing a number of small churches was placed under the care of an overseer, or bishop, whose large sumptuous church was in a city of the district. The bishops of a province were subject to the archbishop, who resided in the capital of the province. Among these higher bishops those at Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and some other places were held in still higher honour. They were generally termed patriarchs. For the one at Rome the term pope¹ came in time to be pre-

¹ The word pope (Latin *papa* father) was for a time applied to other bishops and to common priests. It was not till the eleventh century that the title came to be restricted to the bishop at Rome.

ferred. Thus all Christendom was brought into obedience to a few great officials. One more step in centralization—the substitution of a single head—would make the government of the Church a monarchy. In another aspect Christianity was a democracy, for all its members were equal before God. Common freemen and even slaves had the right, if they possessed ability, to rise to the highest offices.

463. The Empire is Christianized; Theological Sects.—The strong organization of the Church and the restless energy of its members made it the greatest power in the Roman world. The emperor Constantine (306–337), whose early associations made him favourable to Christianity, was glad to have the support of so great a power. Accordingly, he granted the Christians complete liberty of worship and aided the churches with money from his treasury. In this way he raised Christianity to a level with paganism. Constantine was himself converted to the new faith and encouraged it rather than the old. Some time after him Christianity was made the sole religion of the empire and paganism was forbidden by law.

Meantime a Christian theology was growing up. The teachings of Christ are simple; but when the learned men of the empire, and especially the Greek philosophers, accepted Christianity, they brought their own ideas into it. In this way they gradually built upon the original simple faith an intricate theology, full of fine distinctions which none but themselves could understand. Differing from one another, they created opposing doctrines. Each believed his own view to be the only truth, the only way of salvation, whereas those who differed were heretics and under the wrath of God. In the time of Constantine there were already elaborate theologies and wide differences between one sect and another. The chief controversy was that between two Church officials of Egypt—Ath-an-a'si-us and A-ri'us—concerning the nature of Christ. Although both admitted that He was the son of God, Arius maintained that the Son was by nature inferior to the Father. Athanasius, on the other hand, asserted absolute equality between the Son and the Father.

464. The Council of Nicaea (325 A.D.).—In order to strengthen the Church by securing uniformity of belief on this as well as on other points, Constantine called a council of bishops from all parts of the world to meet at Ni-cae'a, a city in north-western Asia Minor, to settle the disputes and to decide upon a creed which all should accept. By adopting the view of Athanasius the council made it orthodox, whereas that of his opponent became a heresy. The West readily accepted the Nicene Creed, as this decision is called; and in this manner it has come down to the Roman Catholic church and to most of the Protestant denominations of to-day; but Arianism continued widespread in the East and among the Germans. The council of Nicaea was the first gathering which professed to represent the entire Christian world. The institution of such a general council, to meet as occasion demanded, added greatly to the power of the Church in its conflict with paganism.

CHAPTER XXXVI

CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE

465. The Decline in Mental Energy.—Even in the great age of seeming prosperity described in an earlier chapter, the life of the Mediterranean people showed signs of weakening. There had already set in a decay which was to bring the world back to semi-barbarism. The decline was primarily in mental strength. This loss of mentality was due in great part to the decline of the Greek city-states and the building up of an empire. If the city-states, acting upon one another, and influenced by the surrounding world, produced the strong, brilliant minds of the Greeks, the decay of this political and social system must have had the opposite effect. Imperial government repressed freedom and discouraged thought. The Roman empire completed the ruin which the empire of Alexander had begun. The long, profound peace secured by Rome for the Mediterranean world promoted the soft, gentle virtues of mercy and love; but it repressed the heroic virtues, such as bravery, will power, physical and mental strength, and ambition. The inhabitants of the empire felt that there was but one state on earth; they called it “the world”. There was no international competition in war or diplomacy or in trade—nothing from the outside to stimulate. The result was sluggishness. During the imperial period little progress was made in literature, art, or science. The knowledge which the world possessed stored up in books was gradually lost, and mankind lapsed, therefore, into ignorance and semi-barbarism.

466. Depopulation; Slavery.—Another cause of decline was depopulation. The reason why the people continually became fewer is to be found chiefly in the growth of city life already mentioned. It is well known that city people as a rule have less vitality than those of the country, that the population of a

city tends to die out unless it is constantly recruited from the country.¹ Generally city people, too, insist on more comforts and luxuries—that is, they have a higher standard of living—than those of the country. Again, in the country it costs little to rear children, and at an early age they are put to work, so that they actually become profitable; whereas in the city the cost of bringing them up is far greater, and there is little opportunity for them to work. For these reasons city people are less inclined to marry and to bring up large families than those of the country. To the inhabitants of the Roman empire this cause proved more destructive even than pestilence.

The depopulation was hastened by slavery. During the great conquests captives were sold as slaves, so that they came to be very cheap. Senators and knights bought up vast tracts of land (Latin *lat-i-fund'i-a* “broad estates”), which they worked by slave labour. The peasant proprietors, unable to compete, sold their small farms or were forcibly ejected by wealthy neighbours. Coming into the cities, these country people could find little work, for the skilled industries, too, were carried on mostly by slaves. The mercantile and other business was largely in the hands of knights and freedmen. Being, therefore, without a livelihood, the poor could not support families to supply the state with soldiers and citizens. In the later empire, as we shall soon learn in more detail, oppressive taxation reduced the masses to misery and despair. There is evidence that in the first two centuries of our era the population of the city of Rome fell off more than one half. Doubtless for the empire as a whole the decrease was considerably greater.

467. The Collapse of the Money System.—Under the principate there was little mining of precious metals, so that the amount of gold and silver in the empire was not materially increased. On the other hand, the precious metals were constantly being used in the arts, stored up as offerings in temples, and hoarded by private persons. A greater drain on the cur-

¹ Through recent sanitary improvements, however, cities are now generally free from this law of decay.

rency was caused by the constant exportation of vast sums to Arabia, India, and China in exchange for silks, spices, perfumes, and other luxuries. Little of the gold and silver sent to the Far East ever returned. As a result, the amount of money in circulation became smaller every year. The princes could think of no other remedy than that of making the coins lighter and of debasing the silver pieces by mixing copper with that metal. The amount of alloy was increased so rapidly that in the middle of the third century A.D. the pieces which had once been silver, and were still so in name, had come to be nearly all copper. A piece which in the time of Augustus was worth forty cents came to be worth about one cent. It is a well-known fact that a baser metal, when coined in unlimited quantities and at a lower value than that of the market, drives all other metals from circulation; for a man will not pay a debt in good gold when the law allows the use of cheap copper for the purpose. The result was that the issue of pale copper coins stopped the circulation of all gold and silver money. But coins of the value of one cent will not alone suffice for the business of an empire.

468. Taxation under Diocletian and Constantine.—The effect of this want of money on the government, and through it on society, is still more remarkable. We must notice first that the cost of maintaining the government had become many times as great under Diocletian as it had been under Augustus: Because of an increase in the number of soldiers and in their pay, and more especially because of the enormous increase in the number of magistrates, and because of the increased splendour and extravagance of the emperors and their higher officials. But, as the coinage depreciated, the taxes in money came to be almost worthless. The government had to resort, therefore, to taxes in kind—grain, meat, cloth, leather, iron, and other products. The heavy poll tax, thereafter imposed on labourers, both men and women, discouraged the poor from rearing children. The unjust land tax forced many peasant proprietors to give up their good fields and settle on sterile mountain land in order to lighten their burden. Hence the

soil of the empire constantly became less productive; and this decline further hastened the depopulation.

The great lord still derived profit from his land, because his tax was proportionately lighter, and because he was powerful enough to shirk the payment of taxes. But the field of the peasant became worse than worthless to the owner.

469. Hereditary Social Classes.—We are now in a position to understand how it was that in the late empire society came to be organized in a system of hereditary classes, which enslaved the minds and bodies of the multitude and thus completed the wreck of ancient civilization. One of the chief tasks of the government had long been to supply Rome, and afterward Constantinople as well, with food. The people who attended to this work were chiefly the grain-merchants, bakers, cattle-dealers, and swine-dealers. They were organized in guilds, which were given privileges to attract as many as possible. There were plenty of merchants, till Diocletian ordered them to take upon themselves without pay the transportation of all government property, including the taxes in kind. As this new burden seemed too great to bear, many tried to forsake their occupation, whereupon he ordered them to continue in it, and their sons after them. For similar reasons all the guilds became hereditary that their members might be compelled to do their duty to the state. Nothing could be more destructive to liberty than such an arrangement. The jealous eyes of the association were always upon each member to see that he bore without shirking his part of the common burden. The tyranny of guild rule was more galling than that of the most despotic king.

470. The Curiales; Military and Civil Service.—How the system of taxation made membership of the curia hereditary must next be explained. The curiales, as stated above, were wealthy men. To insure the collection of taxes the emperor made them responsible for the amount due from their city. In case they failed to collect any part of the tax imposed they had to make good the deficiency from their own estates. But their burden in providing for the needs of their own com-

munity was heavy enough. When, therefore, this additional load was placed on their shoulders, many wished to retire into private life. The emperor then made the position hereditary and required all who owned above twenty-five acres to accept and retain the place for life. If a man went to another city he was liable to curial service in both. The office lost all honour, for no inquiry was now made as to the character or occupation of proposed members; and, when once a man had entered, nothing short of bankruptcy could relieve his family of the oppressive load. The condition of the curiales was even more unenviable than that of the tradesmen.

Naturally those engaged in the military or civil service of the emperor were free from liability to enrolment among the curiales. Their sons were liable, however, till Constantine declared that sons had a right to the offices of their fathers. This edict made the civil and military posts hereditary, for no one was so self-sacrificing as to exchange an easy, honourable place under the emperor for a life of drudgery as a curialis. The same consideration induced the sons of soldiers to follow the vocations of their fathers.

471. Freeholders, Tenants, and Slaves become Serfs.—Lastly, let us consider how the condition of tenants and of peasant proprietors was made hereditary by law, and how these two classes, together with the rural slaves, were merged in one great class of serfs. The more the population dwindled, the more important it became that every one, slave or free, should do his part in supporting the government. Hence it was that the government watched more and more carefully over each individual. It had often happened that slaves escaped taxation by being sold from one estate to another. That the government might keep a stricter account of rural slaves, Constantine ordered that they should not be sold off the estate on which they were born, or given their liberty. By this act they ceased to be slaves and became serfs, so attached to the soil as to be bought and sold along with it. The tenants—*co-lo'ni*—were once free to move about as they wished and to rent land of any lord with whom they could make satisfactory

terms. But when heavy taxes rendered their lot hard, many deserted the farms they had taken in rental, either to seek more indulgent lords or to swarm into the cities. To put a stop to this evil which would soon have destroyed the population, Constantine bound the tenant and his descendants forever to the soil. Thus the tenants, too, became serfs. In like manner the small freeholders, finding their taxes too heavy, tried to escape, whereupon they also with their descendants were bound forever to the soil by order of the emperor. The work of converting the greater part of the rural labourers to serfs was thus completed.

472. The Large Land-owners; the Beginning of Feudalism.—Mention has been made of the large land-owners. Most of them throughout the empire were senators. Though many were military or civil officers, on actual duty or retired, few ever sat in the senate either at Rome or at Constantinople. The word senator had come to denote rank rather than a post or function. Men of this class were under no obligation to become curiales and had few burdens in addition to the tax on their lands and field labourers. The lord was in a position, not only to shirk much of his duty to the state, but also to screen his tenants from injustice and sometimes even from just obligations. It was soon discovered that the tenant's condition was happier, therefore, than that of the freeholder. Many freeholders, accordingly, made haste to give up their lands to a lord and become his tenants on condition of receiving his protection. The lord was as a rule glad to receive such persons, as every increase in the number of his dependants gave him greater power to defy the tax collectors and other imperial officials. Those who thus sought his favour were required to swear that they would always remain faithful. The act of putting one's self under the protection of another with a vow of fidelity is termed "commendation". The candidate for protection commended himself to his future lord. As there was much land lying everywhere idle through lack of cultivators, the noble was ready to grant a field to any one who was willing to work it and to make the vow of fidelity. Such a grant

of land is called a benefit or benefice (Latin *ben-e-fic'i-um*). The government tried in vain to check commendations and the bestowal of benefices. Through them the lords became more and more powerful, till they were almost sovereigns, ruling over estates so extensive as to seem like little kingdoms. This was the beginning of feudalism, which was to reach its full development in the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE GERMANS

473. Country and People.—In the time of the empire central Europe, east of the Rhine and north of the upper Danube, was covered with forests, here and there interrupted by damp, unwholesome marshes. The country was rude in surface, rigorous in climate, and cheerless to every beholder—altogether unfavourable to the growth of civilization. The Germans, who inhabited this region, lived in huts usually grouped in villages. They fished and hunted, kept herds of cattle, and cultivated small patches of grain and vegetables. They were a tall, strong, fair race of barbarians, who loved war and despised labour. Though addicted to drunkenness and gambling, they had virtues which were now lacking in the people of the empire: Their family life was pure; they were true to their plighted word; and they loved personal freedom. In contrast with the Romans of the time they reared large families. The population rapidly increased, therefore, in spite of the enormous loss of life from continual war among themselves. Before they learned of Christ they worshipped the powers of nature and had neither temples nor images.

474. Government; "Companionship".—On beginning a war the members of a tribe came together and elected a leader (Latin *dux* duke). Because of continual warfare some tribes came to live permanently under chiefs, and in this case the office tended to become hereditary. Such rulers may be termed kings. The king was always a noble, and there were in the tribe other nobles—men distinguished for their own prowess or that of their ancestors. The nobles of a tribe met with the king in council to plan for the interests of their people. Minor questions they settled on their own responsibility; but those of greater importance, especially of war, peace, migrations,

and the election of magistrates, they brought before the assembly of warriors for decision.

There were private as well as tribal wars. Any strong, brave, enterprising freeman might attract to himself a band of young men who sought adventure or honour. They were called his companions (Latin *com'i-tes*, or collectively *com-i-ta'tus*). Under an oath to be ever faithful they followed him, not only in wars waged by his tribe, but also in any private raid that he might plan. Their highest honour was to stand by his side in battle or to sit next to him at meals. Spoils gained in war or presents from friends were distributed among them according to the worth of each man, so that they usually lived in superior style. It was a training school in war and in obedience and honour. There can be no doubt that the institution had considerable influence on the growth of feudalism.

475. Their Early Relations with the Empire.—The Germans did not all continue in the same stage of civilization. While those far away from the empire remained as barbarous as ever, the tribes or nations along the border rapidly learned to imitate the life of the Romans. They began to cultivate the fields more extensively, to build more comfortable homes, to dress better, and to make more efficient tools and weapons. Christian missionaries brought them the Gospel. The tribe known as the Vis'i-goths (West Goths), north of the Danube, accepted Christianity from Bishop Ul'fi-las, who translated the Bible into their speech.

As the Romans grew continually weaker, while the Germans and other northern tribes increased in numbers and strength, it was inevitable that the barbarians should become a menace to the empire. The first great horde of invaders came in the time of the republic. It was beaten and destroyed by Marius. Augustus tried in vain to conquer Germany. Thereafter the Northerners continued to grow more dangerous. Marcus Au-re'li-us, 161–180 A.D., spent the best years of his administration in hard struggles to maintain the frontier against their assaults. Their breaking through was only a question of time. As the nations nearest to the frontier were

harassed by the more barbarous tribes on their outer border, it was but natural that many of them should want to settle within the empire, especially as vast tracts of land lay idle through lack of cultivators. Marcus Aurelius began the policy of colonizing the empire with barbarians on a grand scale. The effect was to weaken the enemy and to check depopulation.

It was necessary for the government to watch carefully over these new settlers. In assigning them to vacant lands it forbade them to leave their holdings. They were required to pay rents and to do military duty when needed. As a rule these colonists remained quietly at home, exerting themselves to throw off all trace of their own nationality and to become Roman in customs and language.

476. The Invasions.—Account must also be taken of those Germans who are said to have invaded the empire. In the third century A.D. they made many raids across the frontier, often defeating Roman armies and on one occasion killing an emperor. It was not till the opening of the fifth century that they began to make permanent settlements within the borders. After many wanderings the West Goths founded a kingdom in southern Gaul in 419. When at its height a half century later, it extended from the Loire River to the southern shores of Spain. Soon after the arrival of the West Goths the Burgun'di-ans settled in the valley of the Rhone, and in 429 the Vandals invaded Roman Africa and established a kingdom there. The Franks were already settling the left bank of the lower Rhine. Afterward, under their king, Clovis (486-511), they conquered the whole of Gaul. About the middle of the fifth century the Angles and Saxons began to overrun Britain. Toward the end of the century (490) the East Goths (Os'tro-Goths) entered Italy, and many years later (565) the same country was invaded by the Lombards.¹

477. Relation of the Invaders to the Empire.—The story of the wanderings and wars of these tribes, though entertaining, has little value as history. It is far more useful to study their

¹ For the location of these kingdoms, see the map accompanying this chapter.

relation to the empire after their settlement in it. To understand this subject we must take into account a great change which has come about in the method of supporting the armies. The system of taxes in kind had proved too costly and cumbersome and had broken down by its own weight. Especially, the roads had fallen out of repair, the bridges were in ruins, and wagons and beasts of burden failed through the general impoverishment of the Romans. It was necessary in time of peace to bring the soldiers near to the source of supply. They were quartered, accordingly, on the inhabitants. The first step in this process was to assign an army to a province or other district. The soldiers were then distributed among the cities and in each city among the proprietors of land. Each lord had to give a third, or other specified part, of his shelter to soldiers, and to provide them with food, clothing, and all necessities from his estate. The family of the soldier was included in this arrangement. The army thus quartered had its officers and commander as in war; but for a time the provinces and cities retained their civil authorities as before.

This system was now applied to the Germanic nations which settled in the empire. Each was an army in the service of the emperor, differing little from other Roman armies. The German soldiers did not become owners of the land; they were simply the guests of the proprietor, with a right to shelter and support. It was by bearing this burden that he performed his duty to the state—a substitute for the payment of taxes. The system was oppressive; the German soldiers were often violent and brutal; but they were neither enemies nor conquerors. Their commander was at once “king” of his followers, according to their native custom, and a military officer of the emperor. Such was now the weakness of the imperial government, however, that these German kings finally acquired the civil power over their districts in addition to their military commands. Taking possession of the public lands, they kept a part for their own use and assigned the rest to their favourites and followers. Private land remained in the hands of former owners. Though these chiefs were strongly inclined

to independence, they continued to regard the emperor as their sovereign, and some of them were still willing at critical times to fight in his cause.



478. Dissolution of the Empire in the West.—The presence of these Germans, however, tended to the dissolution of the empire in the West. It fell into chaos. Britain was irretrievably lost to it. The Vandals in Africa showed their hostility to Rome by crossing in ships to Italy and sacking the city (455). Gaul and Spain, though more loyal, were prac-

tically worthless to the empire, as they afforded no revenue and could not ordinarily be depended upon for military aid. Practically, Rome had to look to Italy alone for support. This country, too, was falling into the hands of Germans; for the soldiers and the military officers were of that nationality. The emperors at Rome had come to be mere puppets of the German commander-in-chief. The last emperor there was Rom'ulus—nicknamed Au-gus'tu-lus, probably because of his youth. Shortly after his accession the German troops mutinied and made O-do-a'cer, one of their number, king. He deposed Romulus, and retaining the kingship, sent his submission to Zeno, emperor at Constantinople, 476. By this arrangement the division of the empire into East and West for administrative purposes ceased, as the entire empire was henceforth to be ruled from Constantinople. From that date to the coronation of Char-le-magne' in 800 this condition remained unchanged. The continuance of the emperors in the East satisfied in some degree a want which Rome had left in the hearts of the barbarians as well as of her native citizens—a longing for a central power which, in the midst of the existing chaos, should stand for law and order throughout the world. Most men, accordingly, even in the West, whatever their race or condition, thought of the Eastern emperor as their own. The German kings acknowledged his sovereignty and accepted offices from his hands, but their obedience went no farther than their own wishes and interests. While, therefore, the empire in the East remained strongly centralized, the West broke up into several independent kingdoms.

479. The Blending of the Two Races.—Pursuing our study of the relations between the Germans and the Romans still further, we find that the natives were not deprived of their property by the Germans, or reduced to slavery, or considered in any way inferior. All alike, without reference to race, paid taxes or gave other support to the state, according to the amount of their land. All were liable to military service and eligible to office. In fact, as the Germans were for a time unable to read and write and were ignorant of administration,

the German king filled his civil offices with Romans, who in these positions managed most of the business of government. Intermarriages were common and the two races soon blended in one. German and Roman laws existed side by side for the two races respectively, till the former gave way to the latter. Forgetting their own language, the Germans learned to speak Latin. The religion of the natives also prevailed. It was that of the Church of Rome. The question as to the influence of the Germans on morals is difficult. Their coming added greatly to the confusion, violence, and brutality of the time; it hastened the decay of civilization and the reign of ignorance. At the same time it brought a better family life and infused a new vitality into the population. Much more influence in these directions was exercised, however, by those who had for centuries been coming quietly into the empire, in comparison with whom the "armies" of the Germans here under consideration were a mere handful. For a long time Roman life seemed almost untouched by the presence of these foreigners. When we come to the founding of Charlemagne's empire (800 A.D.), we find a new life emerging from the old; the Roman world had passed away, the Mediæval world was at hand.

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